# New Republic

October 28, 1946 • Fifteen Cents

*"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war..."*

# Welcome to UN

A special section including articles by

Trygve Lie, Ralph J. Bunche and Paul Hasluck

## For a Strong United Nations

EDITORIAL

## Political Trend or Landslide?

By LOUIS BEAN


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# THE NEW REPUBLIC

*A Journal of Opinion*

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## For a Strong UN

As THE first political assembly of the United Nations opens, in a world of failures, the UN's balance sheet of success and failure is evenly drawn.

*The Charter.* – The Charter stands. Since the creation of the UN, none of its members has violated its charter and no act of aggression has taken place. All members of the UN have accepted the Charter as a ruling factor in their actions, and all have sought to justify their actions in terms of the Charter.

Yet the Charter is clearly inadequate to meet the new problems raised by the application of science to war. And even the present Charter has been gravely weakened by basic differences of interpretation, particularly on the promise of the big nations to use the veto "sparingly."

*The Security Council.* – The Security Council has proved to be a means of bringing decisive pressure to bear against threatened violations of the peace. By this pressure it may have prevented a resort to arms in Iran. The greatest force which one nation has brought to bear on another—in the American ultimatum to Yugoslavia—was a threat to bring Yugoslavia to trial before the tribunal of the Security Council.

Yet in only one of five conflicts has the Security Council reached a final solution. In that instance, French and British forces withdrew peacefully from Syria and Lebanon. The issues of Iran, of Greece, of Indonesia and Spain remain unsolved; the failure to seek justice in these cases has been as disillusioning as the failure to reach a solution.

In general, the United Nations is inadequate in the realm of security. The USSR has refused to permit assignment of forces to the Military Staff Committee as provided for by the Charter. No agreement is in sight on the Atomic Energy Commission. By the veto power, the great nations compressed the role of the UN to one of aiding them in maintaining peace. Today, the attitude of all of the great nations is to keep the UN compressed. They assert that national policy is made at all times by the foreign offices. They insist that delegates to the UN are agents of the foreign offices without independence of action or world responsibility. To these nations, agreements reached by the UN largely confirm earlier decisions made between London, Moscow and Washington. The UN is free from responsibility for the failures of the Peace Conference. Yet it is the UN which must administer the peace settlement which the conference shapes.

*The Economic and Social Council.* – In contrast to the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council has gained strength. The USSR has shown a real concern for the Council's success. The Council and its related agencies have received daring and progressive proposals from the French for an international scientific-research center, and from the British, to penalize nations failing to maintain full employment.

Even in welfare matters discussed by the UN, communist autarchy has often replaced socialist internationalism. The USSR has challenged the principle of international control of European waterways, recognized since the Congress of Vienna. In discussions on human rights and displaced persons it has disputed the whole concept of world citizenship and the right of individuals. Yet for the first time, clauses on human rights have been written into the peace treaties.

On two major problems, relief and the resettlement of displaced persons, the Economic and Social Council has largely failed. The extinction of UNRRA, with no agency to replace it in caring for homeless and starving millions, is a shameful story. The absence of an agency to resettle eleven hundred thousand displaced persons is equally shameful. The Economic and Social Council has been powerless to act, because under the terms of the UN Charter, the Council is not an action agency like the Security Council, but an agency created only to advise the UN Assembly. It is of the greatest importance that the Economic and Social Council be reconstituted as an action agency by the Assembly. It is equally important that the Assembly grant the Secretary-Gen-


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eral a large emergency fund for use at his discretion. The absence of this fund is crippling. The presence of such a fund would have prevented a great deal of suffering this year.

*The Secretariat.* – The UN has been rapidly organized since the February Assembly. Under heartbreaking conditions, the Secretariat has done wonderful work. Yet the subordination of the UN to national sovereignties has resulted in the recruiting of the Secretariat on the basis of geography instead of ability. It has led to a Secretariat of national representation rather than world citizens, and of men whom the foreign offices can spare rather than outstanding administrators.

Until two months ago, Soviet citizen Arkady Sobolev had been assigned to the Secretariat; today there are four. France and China have offered only two outstanding men to the UN. America gave to the highest post offered her in the UN an official of the Department of Agriculture with no background in world affairs. A first-class Secretariat is a most urgent necessity for the UN.

*The Independent Agencies.* – Eight independent agencies have been established in some relation to the UN. They have moved fast in cultural relations, banking, trade and health. Of the eight, the USSR has joined only one—the World Health Organization. Its reasons for not joining vary from suspicion, or simply administrative delay, as in the case of UNESCO, to basic disagreement on policy, as in the case of civil aviation and of commercial policy.

Only three of the eight are concluding agreements with the UN. None of the eight intends to stand in close relation to the UN. Yet they will stand or fall with the UN and their success is important to the UN's future. The independence they strive for may well cost them, and the UN, support later on.

*The Balance.* – The delegates at San Francisco faced the issue of the coexistence, in one world, of two conflicting societies. They created the UN to preserve the societies and modify the conflicts.

In the months after Hiroshima, the problem seemed less the coexistence of two societies than the creation of one world society with executive power to prohibit war. We moved beyond San Francisco.

Yet in these months, the two societies have waged a war, without aims, on one another, so relentless that today even their peaceful coexistence seems ultimately beyond hope. Today we have retreated from San Francisco.

Among governments there has been a rapid ebbing of activity away from the UN. The Combined Chiefs of Staff is a far more important agency than the UN Military Staff Committee. The Export-Import Bank is more powerful than the International Bank. The bilateral trade agreements concluded between the USSR and Eastern Europe are far more extensive than the plans of the World Trade Organization. The emergence of rigid blocs within the UN indicates factors deeper than support of UN principles.

Progressives have also moved from support of a dynamic UN. One group favors immediate world government. As an immediate political program, this has almost no significance.

A second group talks of nothing but Big Three unity and assumes that we must live with uncontrolled atomic energy for fifteen years, until the USSR is prepared by progress on the economic and social level in the UN for progress on the political level in strengthening the Charter.

A third group, convinced that the USSR is the new National Socialism, favors rapid reconstruction of Germany, defensive measures outside the UN, and incidental support of the UN, in Reinhold Niebuhr's words, as "a minimal bridge over a wide chasm."

We support none of these attitudes. It is shocking to us that the practical internationalism of twenty years ago, today seems utopian to the new nationalism. We find it tragic and terrible that socialists who twenty-five years ago denounced the chauvinism of Versailles are today squabbling over boundaries and behaving like the worst kind of nationalists. We see no hope that the conflicting ideologies of our time will be reconciled in time to form world government without war. We see good reason to believe that, uncontrolled, they will lead to war. Beyond the necessities of settlements between nations, we see a strong United Nations, acting as an independent force, interpreting its own laws, commanding its own loyalties, as the one hope of continuing peace.

## The U. S. Stands Pat

Secretary Byrnes and Senator Vandenberg have delivered their apologia on the failure at Paris. In their statements it is difficult to find any basis for optimism concerning the new efforts at peacemaking which lie ahead. Byrnes is increasingly the captive of the Vandenberg variety of bipartisan policy and he and the Senator now have served notice that they propose to play the same old game to the bitter end when the Council of Foreign Ministers meets again in New York next month. The Russians, after hearing Vandenberg's assertion that Roosevelt "was prodigal in giving way to the requests and demands of our allies," can hardly be expected to rely seriously upon Byrnes's claim that "our social and economic democracy is farther away from the devil-take-the-hindmost philosophy of bygone days than Soviet Russia is from Czarist Russia." To many Americans, the Vandenberg attack on the late President Roosevelt must seem a translation of the "devil-take-the-hindmost" policy to the field of foreign policy. Certainly the Russians, who are realists accustomed to the axiom that actions speak louder than words, must be convinced of it.

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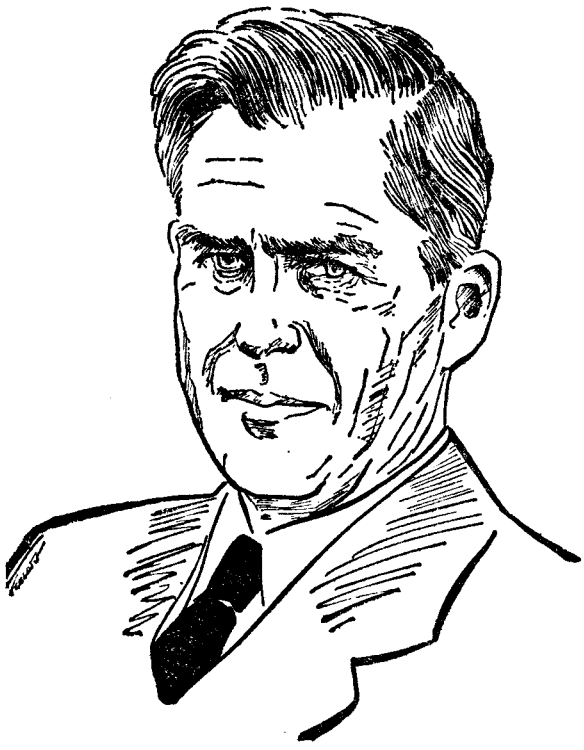
# Wallace, the NR and the Press

THE ANNOUNCEMENT, on October 12, that Henry Wallace is to become editor of the *New Republic*, beginning December 16, hit the front pages all over the country the following morning. Twenty-four hours later the editorial comment began to come in. Selections are reprinted below, and beginning on page 557, we publish some of the telegrams and letters already received from individuals.



## Editorial in the New York *Times*:

After thirteen years Henry A. Wallace is to be an editor again, this time not of two Iowa farm publications but of the *New Republic*. Founded in 1914 by Willard Straight, with Herbert Croly as its first editor, this "journal of opinion," leaning considerably to the Left, has long had an influence out of proportion to its relatively small circulation. It has been well informed, intelligently edited and interested in humanitarian causes. Though it has often gone beyond the positions of many who call themselves liberals, its integrity cannot be questioned. It has not been and is not a slave of the Moscow party line.

There was every reason why Mr. Wallace, with his definite disagreement with our present foreign policy, should not remain in the Truman cabinet. There are just as good reasons why he should express himself fully, freely and regularly now that he is outside the cabinet. Discussion and debate of this sort are of the essence of our democracy. . . . We wish him a successful editorship.

## Editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune*:

Henry Wallace, in accepting the editorship of the *New Republic*, is entering a field of useful service. That weekly has a long record of intelligent criticism of American and world affairs; Mr. Wallace long ago proved his journalistic competence when he addressed himself to the Midwestern farmers, and since leaving the editorial room for official life he has repeatedly shown his powers as commentator. The union of a fine editorialist and a distinguished journal is likely to produce happy results for both and for the public to which they will address themselves. . . .

## Jennings Perry in *PM*:

Henry Wallace is going to be an editor again. An editor is a man who does his thinking out loud. The last time Wallace was an editor, he reasoned with farmers to conserve the soil, improve the essential goods they produce, lift the level of their own and the general living. It was the counsel of common sense, as none would deny.

Now Wallace is striving on a larger scale "to arouse the liberally minded people of the world to the need of stopping this dangerous armament race." The course is meted in the new, spacious terms of atomic destructiveness. The race, actually, is between man's intelligence and his primeval vanity, which has blinded him to so many perils in the past. Wallace still is preaching common sense. . . .

As an editor, Wallace takes his stand in the open field, to shoot and be shot at. Of course he will be shot at. But where there is no risk, no courage is required. . . .

The virtue of Wallace's declaration on foreign affairs is that it has opened the door to public discussion everywhere. . . . The momentous question of our foreign policy is now seized where it should be seized—at the crossroads store, in the streets, in the smoking cars, the salons, in all forums. . . .

It is to be supposed that Wallace will continue, as editor and as a spokesman of peace-cherishing humanity, to make his point that peace must be the product of agreement among equals. It is a point acceptable to millions who, having tested the guidance of "superior" wisdom in their world, are willing, at this pass of confusion, to settle for simple sanity.

## From the Chicago *Sun*:

Henry A. Wallace is a shrewd enough student of history to know that the editorship of a national magazine is not the royal road to political preferment. In becoming editor of the *New Republic* he demonstrates once again his deep concern for the ideas he champions rather than personal advancement.

Together with one or two other weekly journals of opinion, the *New Republic* for three decades has been a powerful force in American life. . . . Almost always it has been well in advance of progressive fights.

The purposes Mr. Wallace wishes to serve are made clear in his own statement: to speak boldly, in terms of effective action by progressives of all nations, at a time when men of little vision are "driving the world into two armed camps." He has a forum of great potential usefulness. He can be trusted to use it honestly.

## From the Des Moines *Register*:

It would have been nice if, after 13 years in "government," Henry Wallace had come back to the editorship of the Iowa farm magazine that so long has borne the Wallace name. . . .

But Henry has decided to take the editorship of *New Republic* magazine, published in New York, and while returning to the field of specialized journalism, to make his fight for what he believes to be the country's welfare from that kind of base. . . .

The *New Republic* has shared with the *Nation* for many years a peculiar role in America. It is a weekly of debate, liberal in approach to everything, written always by men with considerable crusading zeal for a better world. By nature it has been critical of "things as they are." . . .

Probably, despite the small circulation of these "liberal organs," they have had considerable influence—on the whole stimulating and useful—on national thinking through the years. . . .

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To some extent this unprosperous but tenacious liberal weekly pamphleteering fills a gap in American debate which exists because there is not much of a liberal daily press in the United States, and not much expression of liberal viewpoints in the prosperous weekly magazines of large circulation. There is a need and a place for this sort of thing. . . .

The *New Republic* unquestionably will continue to be critical, to press for change and reform—to be, in short, chronically "in the opposition." That is inherent in the role, and manifests itself even when such a periodical happens to be, broadly speaking, in support of a "reform administration" like Roosevelt's. . . .

We need to remind ourselves that the law of the universe is change, and that the only way we can come to the right changes at the right pace is by the conflict of liberal and conservative ideas, including the errors of both.

From the Washington *Post*:

There is a real affinity between Henry Wallace and the important weekly journal of opinion he has just been chosen to edit. He will bring to the *New Republic* extensive experience in journalism, a vigorous pen, a name which has become a symbol of progressivism and a point of view on public affairs remarkably attuned to the policies which the magazine has long enunciated. . . .

From its inception in 1914 under the editorship of Herbert Croly, the *New Republic* has been a useful force in American life, consistently championing liberal ideals, civil rights and social progress. Its impact and influence were never measurable by its circulation. Despite a limited readership, it commanded the attention and held the respect of men and women who were themselves influential in the opinion-making process. . . .

# Riding for a Crash

THE PRESIDENT last week abandoned more than price ceilings on meat. Along with the meat controls, Truman gave up the government's five-year effort to check inflation, and also the last hope that the country might move directly into a full-production, full-employment economy. Economists and laymen alike now expect a crash. Furthermore, they expect it relatively soon.

The tragedy is that the surrender came at a moment of great promise. The physical job of reconverting to peace had been completed, full peacetime employment had been attained, incomes were high, corporation profits were at an all-time peak and, despite certain hitches, production was rolling.

The President was acutely aware that if he held on to controls, Congress almost certainly would wipe them out the moment it returned in January. In the interim, the meat industry would have continued to hold back meat. The packers, chain-store operators and feeders, who had paid finished-livestock prices for the cattle they were shunting off for feeding, stood to lose too much on their gamble not to wait for Congress to come to the rescue. There would have been another three months of meat shortage. *(Continued on page 536)*

## Things to Watch Out For

*Rumors will grow that Secretary of State Byrnes is resigning but, for several more months at least, Byrnes will resist the urging of his wife and his doctor that he quit.*

*Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton will not become Ambassador to the Court of St. James, although he could have the job for the asking.* He will be at Truman's right elbow ready and willing when the time comes to choose a successor to Byrnes.

*The real-estate and builders' lobby will shortly launch the all-out drive they have been carefully planning in recent months for removal of building and price controls on materials.* Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt's defenses will hold; these controls will remain after most others are gone.

*All food controls except those on sugar will be dropped within one month's time.*

*By December 1, all controls except those on housing and a few essential products such as automobiles, furniture and basic clothing will be gone.*

*Secretary of Interior Krug's endorsement of a Columbia Valley Authority, in a speech in Portland, Oregon, last week, will ensure the victory of Senator Hugh Mitchell in Washington and improve the chances of the Democratic senatorial candidates in Idaho and Montana as well.* Republicans had been making hay out of the Administration's failure up to that time to take a united stand for the CVA.

*Sections of the Hatch Act dealing with restrictions on the political activities of citizens paid by federal funds will not remain a part of the law.* The Supreme Court may rule this provision unconstitutional in a case now before it for decision. If it does not, the statute will be interpreted as applying to additional millions who receive federal funds in the form of social-security payments, old-age pensions, etc., and public indignation will force its repeal.

*The Kilgore (formerly Mead) War Investigating Committee will produce evidence that Bilbo accepted funds from war contractors under such circumstances as to make him liable to criminal prosecution and removal from office.* The committee is likely to recommend such action to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, which has the power to prevent the seating of Bilbo when Congress convenes in January.

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# Who Is Picking Your Pocket?

| *Amendment by* | *Lobbies Backing Amendment* | *Provisions of Amendment* | *Chief Beneficiaries* | *Yield to Beneficiaries* | *Profit Rate in Preceding Years* | *Typical Price Increases Paid by Consumers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sen. Wherry (R, Nebr.) | National Retail Ass'n<br>Independent Petroleum Ass'n of America<br>Hosiery, Wool and Work Clothing M'f'rs<br>NAM<br>Auto Dealers' Ass'n<br>Electrical M'f'rs<br>Retail Dry Goods, Retail Furniture and Textile Fabrics Ass'ns | Prohibits the OPA from requiring cost absorption by wholesalers and retailers. | All wholesalers and retailers handling consumer articles. | $350 million | Department store profits five times prewar. | Electric clock up $1.20<br>Camera up $4.50<br>Radio up $2.50<br>Cast-aluminum pot up $.12 |
| Sen. Sundstrom (R, Mich.) | Nat'l Retail Dry Goods Ass'n<br>Wool M'f'rs<br>Rayon Weavers Ass'n<br>Ass'n of House Dress M'f'rs | Elimination of the maximum-average-price orders on some fabrics, ending the requirement that producers not exceed average prices of 1943. | Apparel M'f'rs<br>Rayon Fabric Mills<br>Wool Fabric Mills | $1,200 million annually | Wool textiles profits 10 times prewar base period. | No retail increase on this amendment. Other increases raised prices enough to cover the cost. |
| Rep. Crawford (R, Mich.) | Nat'l Automobile Dealers' Ass'n | Eliminates cost absorption by wholesalers and retailers. | Auto dealers | $425 million | (No new automobiles for sale.) | Cars up about 7.3 percent under amendment. |
| Sen. Taft (R, Ohio)<br>Rep. Flannagan (D, Va.)<br>Rep. Wolcott (R, Mich.) | Nat'l Grange<br>Farm Bureau<br>NAM | Cutting food subsidies in half. | Big taxpayers | $1,500 million | | Flour up 1c per pound<br>Bread up 1c a loaf<br>Canned tomatoes up 2c a can<br>Coffee up 4½c per pound |
| Sen. Murdock (D, Utah) | Sugar bloc representing about 11 states. | Prohibits subsidy above 3.675 cent per pound on sugar. | Beet sugar processors<br>Raw sugar processors | $200 million | Profits double | Two cents per pound |
| The late Sen. John Bankhead (D, Ala.)<br>Rep. Brown (D, Ga.)<br>Sen. Sundstrom (R, Mich.) | Cotton Textile Institute<br>Ass'n Cotton Textile M'f'rs<br>Nat'l Cotton Council | Forces consumer absorption of the price increases in the cotton and wool market. | Cotton and textile m'f'rs<br>Cotton farmers (indirectly)<br>Cotton speculators | Already above $600 million at mill level alone. | Cotton textile profits 5½ times higher than prewar base period. | Sheets up 25 percent.<br>Cotton clothing up 8-10 percent. |
| Sen. Fulbright (D, Ark.) | | Prohibits cost absorption by farm machinery dealers. | Farm machinery distributors | Amendment results in increased cost to farmers of $60 million. | (No new machinery for sale.) | Price of most farm machines up 10 percent. |

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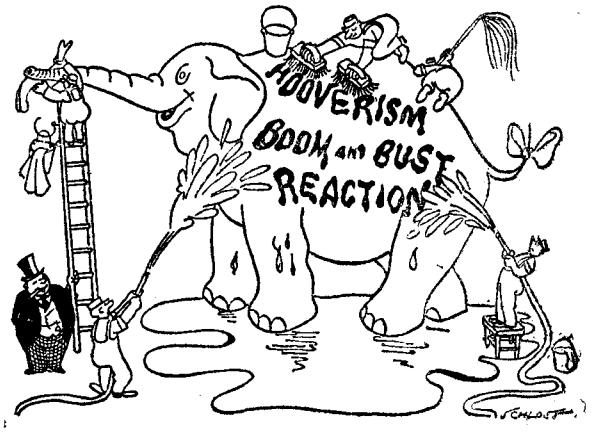
| *Amendment by* | *Lobbies Backing Amendment* | *Provisions of Amendment* | *Chief Beneficiaries* | *Yield to Beneficiaries* | *Profit Rate in Preceding Years* | *Typical Price Increases Paid by Consumers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sen. McFarland (D, Ariz.) | Dairy Lobby | Decontrolling dairy products | Dairy producers, processors and distributors | $1,250 million | Dairy processors' profits 4 times prewar. | 3 to 4c a quart on milk [1]<br>25 to 35c on butter<br>20 to 30c on cheese |
| Sen. Radcliffe (D, Md.) | Poultry Lobby | Decontrol of poultry | | Annual cost to consumers is about $300 million above price increases which the OPA might have granted. | | 10 to 20c per pound |
| Sen. Ed. Moore (D, Okla.)<br>Sen. O'Daniel (D, Tex.) | | Decontrolling petroleum | | About $750 million | Profits double or better. | Gasoline up 1 to 3c a gallon. Fuel oil ½ to 1c. |

[1] More than half of these increases are due to subsidy removal.

If, several weeks earlier, the President had carried the fight to the country, if he had shown the voters how a small group of men were holding up the public for their own gain, if he had used his full powers to break the racket, and if he had called upon the people to suffer it out, he might have won.

What he did turned the nation's economic future back to the untrammeled operation of the law of supply and demand, and to the manipulations of business. It ended the government's five-year fight to temper that system and avoid the cycle of boom and collapse it has always produced. No one knows with finality what the results will be. But the country should know that the direction has been changed and that all the signs point to trouble ahead.

The burden of high prices even now is bringing some talk that perhaps a collapse—euphemistically called a shake-out—would bring welcome relief. This is a strange spectacle: Americans yearning for a good old depression, blithely overlooking the payoff of unemployment, closed factories, foreclosures and economic stagnation.




*Drawn for the New Republic by E. Schloss*

## Signs of Deflation

The reaction of the securities and commodities markets to the President's virtual lifting of price control added converts to the opinion that the precipitate decline in securities prices during August and September reflected basic deflationary trends and not merely the panicky selling of uninformed and bewildered stockholders or the inability of tape-trading gamblers to buy on margin.

The stock market had been rising for several days before the President's announcement. On Tuesday, October 15, the day after controls were lifted, the market had the widest and sharpest rise in many a year, with so-called industrial averages going up more than six points. At least as remarkable as the degree of advance was its extent; it was shown equally by the securities of companies which would benefit by the removal of price control and by those which might suffer therefrom, such as automotive, utilities and railroad shares.

But even this rally has failed to take hold. The stock market has since reverted to its previous decline and has lost almost all of that Tuesday's gains.

The futures markets of some of the important commodities have been equally erratic and have disappointed the hopes of speculators who look for a runaway advance after decontrol. The index of commodity futures declined more than 7.5 points the week ending October 18. Cotton futures suffered the most severe decline, breaking the full limits allowed by Exchange rules on several days and closing the week with a loss of $25.60 per bale.

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# Washington Wire—Turbulent Days

THERE HAS BEEN no case since the Civil War where the opposition party captured the House in the mid-term election and did not capture the White House two years later. Yes, there was one exception, which proves the rule. With Grant in the White House, the Democrats took the House in 1876 and in the presidential contest two years later clearly elected Tilden President. But the Republicans threw the election into the House and counted certain contested Southern states as having voted "Republican," thereby seating Hayes. Otherwise the rule holds true. Thus Truman's fate probably hangs in the balance this November. A mid-term defeat is, in effect, a vote of "no confidence." The unfortunate President who receives it must linger on in office for two years, while a hostile party snipes at him from its captured congressional stronghold, able to block any legislation he may offer. It is this column's careful and regretful judgment that this is the prospect that now looms ahead for Truman. And if this does happen we do not believe he can be elected in 1948. Some talk has been heard here that President Truman might decline to run in 1948 and yield his place to another candidate. Looked at from a Democratic angle, the pros and cons might be argued. Certainly if the election November 5th goes the way the majority of correspondents now assume and we get a Republican House with Joe Martin as Speaker, there will be much talk in the next two years of Truman's voluntary retirement in 1948.

If the Republicans capture the House we shall know what to expect on taxes. Every Republican member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, which passes on such matters, has signed a memorial demanding an immediate 20-percent cut in personal income taxes, with excise taxes in proportion, and has assailed by name Marriner Eccles, head of the Federal Reserve Board, John Steelman, Reconversion Director, and William Wirtz, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, who have stoutly urged that true conservatism and sound economics mean keeping steep taxes until inflation is scotched. The Eccles view is probably approved by the great bulk of American economists, liberal and conservative alike.

The Republicans' tax manifesto is one of the sorriest portents that the election has produced. From their vantage point in a captured House, they could, and doubtless would, appeal for lower taxes, anti-strike legislation and curtailment of social services. Truman presumably would enter the fray with counter-proposals for more New Deal legislation. An inconclusive battle would be likely.

Hey-ho for a free economy! These are turbulent days in Washington and there is bewildering disagreement among economic signposts. The stock market has been going lower and lower for months, indicating belief among investors in a forthcoming recession. Everybody in Washington thinks it is only a matter of time before farm prices drop (maybe "collapse" is the word), though hitherto it has been assumed that this might not occur for a year or so. Now, however, a big speculative bubble in the raw cotton market has been pricked, prices have dropped, and this in turn appears to be leaving textile manufacturers with heavy inventories of high-priced raw cotton on their hands which they are apt to work up and throw on the market as rapidly as they can. There are signs, also, that the whole course of this leveling-off process has been accelerated for food and clothing prices, and that, indeed, the nation may be over the hump. On the other hand, a whole conflicting series of incidents show meat and some other prices bobbing about at top levels as the Administration takes off ceilings. Government economists have their eyes glued to the charts and acknowledge that there is still a chance that higher consumer-goods prices may produce a labor upheaval, stronger wage demands, strikes and another giddy, upward twist in the inflation cycle. But what they mutter under their breath is that the expected "recession" may be nearer than anybody expected. After the "recession" is over (whatever that means), half a dozen years of prosperity are expected, built on the huge backlog of demand for automobiles and homes.

Well anyway, America is going back to a laissez-faire economy, postwar style. Almost alone among nations we shall typify capitalism, while Russia symbolizes communism, and Western Europe mixed socialism. Another big thing is happening too: as the government drops controls the responsibility increases for private industry to run the show smoothly. The country doesn't want another 1929 crash. This may be your last chance, Big Business; let's see what you can do with it!

*Notes.*—So quietly that hardly anybody noticed it the Library of Congress has been assembling a galaxy of two dozen $10,000-a-year experts and advisers to try to help Congress legislate. . . . This is being done under the La-Follette-Monroney bill, and it amounts to collecting a top-rank faculty of graduate-school level. . . . Experts are picked on a non-political basis and Congress itself has nothing to do with their selection. . . . With typical courage, the Washington *Post* last week blamed local hotel keepers for the strike here; it is not often that an American newspaper firmly takes sides against management in a local strike. . . . Nobody loves a landlord, but it is hard to see how rent ceilings can be continued for long if everything else is decontrolled. . . . Colonel McCormick is making a big drive for power in the GOP and can't be ignored; he has already read Dewey and Vandenberg out of the party for "internationalism." . . . In Kentucky Alben Barkley urged voters to "send Andrew J. May back to Congress"; May's chief threat, seemingly, lies in United Mine Workers charges that he is "anti-labor," not in his connection with war-profiteering.

*Washington* T. R. B.

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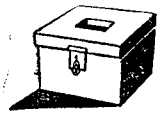

# Political Roundup—Election Eve

THE FINAL DAYS before the election find the political experts split sharply into those guided by figures and those guided by hunches. Progressives who use the statistical method were dejected; those who learned their politics at the local leader's knee were still optimistic about Democratic chances of holding control of the Eightieth Congress. The scientists in politics examined the latest Gallup poll showing that 57 percent of those planning to vote on November 5 were going to vote Republican and conceded a GOP landslide. (See Louis Bean's analysis on page 554 of this issue.) The old-fashioned Democratic hands consulted the key state leaders around the country and concluded that the President's no-more-controls-on-meat speech had improved their chances.

The leaders in the progressive political-action movements uneasily await November 6 to learn also how much strength the Democratic big-city bosses have actually lost. Clearly Kelly, Hague and Tammany are failing. PAC leaders know that it may well be curtains for the Democratic Party if the bosses collapse before the progressives are well enough organized to take over, at least partially, as leaders of the majority in the Northern cities. Voting machines have already come to Hudson County, New Jersey. They are on the horizon for Cook County, Illinois. The saints preserve the Democrats! Or maybe it will be the PAC.

*Who Is Active?* – The House Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures sent questionnaires to 320 organizations, inquiring into their activities in this campaign. Less than 40 of the 160 who answered indicated that they were in any way active in this year's elections. All kinds of organizations, from America First to the Communist Party, received questionnaires. Among those which denied participation in election activity were the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government and the United Mine Workers.

The only two organizations that submitted a national list of endorsements of candidates to the Expenditures Committee were the America First Party and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. According to these endorsements, if all congressional incumbents were reëlected this year the America First Party would be far happier over the results than would the BRT. The America Firsters' 152 endorsements include 109 House incumbents, while the BRT's 229 choices for the next Congress include only 96 members from the last one.

*Progressives in the Campaign.* – The leaders mainly responsible for the recent Chicago Conference of Progressives took another big step forward in a follow-up meeting in New York last week. CIO President Philip Murray spoke to the press for the conference group, which included Jack Kroll of the CIO-PAC; Henry Morgenthau Jr. and Frank Kingdon of the National Citizens' PAC; Robert Kenny, president of the National Lawyers' Guild; Clark Foreman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; and Eugene Johnson, representing the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

These organization chiefs, plus the heads of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Farmers' Union, now formally constitute a "Coördinating Committee of the Conference of Progressives." Their next meeting is set for November 8 in Washington, when there will be a post-election stock-taking. A committee of seven has been appointed to nominate a larger planning group and to draw up the program for another national conference to be held in Washington around January 15, after the new Congress convenes.

*Pennsylvania.* – Joe Pew is as inevitable a part of a Pennsylvania Republican campaign as the "commercial" is in a major-network radio show. Despite efforts of the GOP managers to short-circuit him, Pew last week compromised the chances of his whole slate. With Roosevelt's magic lacking for the first time in 14 years, the Republicans had been counting on an easy victory over Senator Joe Guffey and his ticket. Then Joe Pew pulled the big boner of referring to FDR as the "Pied Piper" who had led many Republican children astray but "whose golden voice is now stilled." Senator Guffey was quick to seize this advantage by forming statewide "Brother Rat" clubs, with Roosevelt and Guffey buttons supplied. Joe Pew has given Joe Guffey his best campaign break to date.

*Veterans.* – The Democrats are boasting that a total of 199 veterans are running for Congress on their ticket against only 120 running as Republicans. The Democrats point out that 67 of their 199 are campaigning for reelection, and they are scornful of the fact that while 99 of the Democratic veteran candidates served in World War II, only 34 of the GOP veterans were young enough to fall into that category. Four of the "veterans" claimed in the Republican total fought in the Spanish-American War and 72 were First World War veterans.

*Oklahoma.* – Plenty of Oklahoma bettors are backing Olney Flynn, present Mayor of Tulsa and Republican candidate for Governor, to win in November and with no odds. Democratic candidate Roy Turner is getting the blame for everything from Truman's foreign policy to meat and other shortages. The fact that Turner is the candidate of the old-line party machine is not generally known, nor does it seem to matter to most voters. To the few progressives it does matter a great deal and they are expected to split about evenly, with many voting for Flynn because he is supposed to have given Tulsa an honest administration.

*West Virginia.* – Professor M. G. Burnside of Marshall College in Huntington is given an excellent chance to beat Republican Representative Hubert Ellis in the Fourth District. All labor groups except the United Mine Workers (who have kept silent) are supporting him.

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*A Special Section*

# The Assembly: Key to UN's Future

## A World of Patience

### by Trygve Lie

FOR THE SAKE of mental equilibrium, one generality and several specific facts deserve to be borne in mind as the United Nations General Assembly meets in New York for the second part of its first session. The generality, which must be repeated at the risk of appearing to be prosaic or positively banal, is that no lasting peace was ever made in one day. Most of the dismay which has been caused by dissension in the Security Council or by failure to reach agreement on various matters at the Paris Peace Conference has been due to the failure of the public to recognize this elementary truth.

Without asking people to blind their eyes to the very obvious fact that there are strong differences between the powers, it is legitimate to ask them to remember that such differences were inevitable in the first place and that, with the best will in the world, it would have required a great deal of time and a large amount of give and take to settle them. What the people have a right to demand, of course, is that the process of give and take shall be practised by all countries which are parties to international discussions, right up to the point at which the basic principles of international decency and order are at stake. It is only proper, and it will contribute to the durability of the peace, if questions of principle are thoroughly discussed in open forum so that the agreements reached may satisfy the demands of honor and legitimate interest.

Those who are tempted to grow impatient at the delay in a final settlement of the peace may find it helpful to recall that the Second World War was prosecuted by the United Nations against Germany long after an equivocal, patched-up armistice was possible. Impatience for the end of the war was not allowed to prevent the Allies from continuing until they had won a real and lasting victory. Without tolerating delay, where delay is caused by national vanity or pure stubbornness, we can also demand patience of ourselves where delay is occasioned by the need for a careful examination of the facts and the interests of various countries.

What deserves to be remembered in following the proceedings of the United Nations, in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council or the Assembly, is that they are directly affected by relations of the major powers which are being threshed out at the present time in the Council of Foreign Ministers and by other direct contacts outside the United Nations itself. It is inevitable that the differences which exist between the powers are reflected in the organs of the UN. As those differences are settled—as they must be—our deliberations will be assisted accordingly.

It must be remembered at all times that under the terms of the Charter which bestowed the right of veto upon each of the five principal powers, the United Nations has not been placed in a position to pass judgment on differences between the principal powers against the wishes of any one power. That means the powers must order their differences among themselves. So while we must practise patience, it is urgent that the outstanding differences be settled as quickly as possible.

The function of the United Nations and its various organs, as far as disputes between the powers are concerned, is thus limited to a large extent to serving as a sounding board and a forum in which the nations may air and discuss their differences. This, in itself, is a function of the greatest importance, which no other organ in history has been able to serve. Even when the League was at its greatest strength it could never hope, because of the absence of key nations from its membership, to serve as so universal a forum.

#### AN INSTRUMENT OF LASTING PEACE

The first of the specific facts which cannot be escaped by anyone who wishes to make a serious appraisal of United Nations proceedings is the overriding fact that no nation—and certainly no nation with the power to make war in this day and age—has anything whatsoever to gain by armed conflict. The nations which emerged from the Second World War as members of our victorious coalition are all sadly oppressed by domestic problems, varying in severity but in all cases of sufficient gravity to occupy the full attention and ability of statesmen. Certainly no responsible statesman today believes that these problems can be either obliterated or relieved by taking up arms.

Any calm appraisal of the situation in which the nations find themselves leads one to the conviction that we are in one of those periods when peace, for the time

*As the delegates of the United Nations General Assembly convene at Flushing for a meeting with far-reaching implications for the future of peace and of the UN, the* New Republic *editors present a special ten-page section devoted to the problems and promises of this, the common man's principal hope for world understanding.*

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being, is practically inescapable. So, with allowances for one of those accidents which it is our business to keep from happening by the constant ventilation of disputes, we should be able to look forward to a post-war interim in which we can perfect the United Nations organization, both as a neutralizer of conflicts and as a constructive instrument.

The second of the specific facts about the United Nations which may help to offset the effect of temporary delays and disappointments is that the organization, still in its infancy, is designed not only as an expedient to stop budding wars by the threat of concerted action but as a long-range, lasting instrument with the avowed object of preventing strife by the gradual elimination of the most basic causes of war. These are enumerated at length in Article 55 of the Charter, one of the most important and one of the least advertised sections of that document.

Through the Economic and Social Council, and with the assistance of a number of specialized agencies which are associated with the work of that Council, the United Nations is responsible for "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." In order to do so, according to Article 55, it must promote "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development," solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems and international cultural and educational coöperation.

It will be obvious to anybody, and it is certainly obvious to those connected directly with the United Nations and associated organs, that such a program will involve the organization in an endless series of operations, of many different types and replete with difficulties. The United Nations membership includes countries of every climate and condition, practising many different systems of government and economic methods, many of them in such straits that the sheer sense of self-preservation tends to incline them to resist any sacrifices of their immediate national interests. Yet it is the avowed intention of these nations to try to find common ground in the economic and social fields and it is one of our principal purposes to serve as an instrument through which they can do so.

In these fields the United Nations lacks even that modicum of compulsion which it has in the political-military sphere through the powers of the Security Council. The Economic and Social Council has no powers of compulsion; here everything must depend upon the common sense and farsightedness of the individual nations themselves. So here, as well as in the political field, we must be prepared to exercise great patience, understanding and good will.

What the public properly can demand, in return for this patience, is that the governments and their representatives shall refrain from obstructionism, shall be specific and clear in explaining their positions, shall be dominated by a spirit of good will and compromise and, at all times, shall conduct themselves as members of the modern world community.

International discussions cannot be run like a football game, with a definite time limit to the proceedings. But they can be run according to the rules and with a sense of sportsmanship, and, with the assistance of the United Nations, this must be done.

# Procedure for Peace

As PAUL-HENRI SPAAK opens the General Assembly's first meeting at Flushing Meadow, an agenda of 53 items faces the delegates. To discuss and act on these items in the six and a half weeks allotted the General Assembly will require some 40 plenary sessions and 400 committee meetings at Flushing and Lake Success. Some of the items will require long debate; some are just routine. In any case, efficient organization will be important in the success or failure of the session.

To meet this problem, the United Nations organization has evolved a procedural system designed to guarantee efficiency and present important and controversial items early in the session while there is still time for debate.

Belgium's Dr. Spaak, president of the Assembly, is assisted by seven vice-presidents—the delegation heads from the five big powers and from Venezuela and South Africa. These eight officers, together with the chairmen of the six permanent committees, make up the General, or steering, Committee. During this, the second half of the first General Assembly session, the General Committee will pass on the agenda, decide which items shall be given preference in committee discussions and determine the procedure for admitting items from other UN branches. At present there is no provision for placing on the agenda the eight items which the Economic and Social Council wants discussed. For the first ten days of the session, additional items from UN members will also be accepted.

This work, essentially preliminary, will be carried out during the period when the General Assembly is hearing reports from the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and while the general debate on these reports progresses.

After the Assembly has approved the permanent agenda and concluded preliminary discussions, committee meetings at Lake Success will begin. Each of the six permanent committees will have a chairman, a vice-chairman, a rapporteur and a representative from

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each member nation. The Political and Security Committee will receive more than its share of explosive items. With the Ukraine's Dmitri Manuilsky as chairman, this committee will probably open its discussions with the question of Indian minorities in South Africa. It will also decide what to do about Security Council recommendations on new members and perhaps whether it can reverse a Security Council "no" to a General Assembly "yes" on membership applications. It will also have for discussion two proposals concerning the use of the veto in Security Council matters.

### Permanent Committees and Their Duties

The Economic and Finance Committee has Waclaw Kondeski of Poland as chairman. It will modify and approve draft agreements between the United Nations and such specialized agencies as the International Labor Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization.

The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, whose chair is now vacant in the absence of New Zealand's Peter Frazer, will consider the refugee question. The task of approving plans for an International Refugee Organization will fall to this committee.

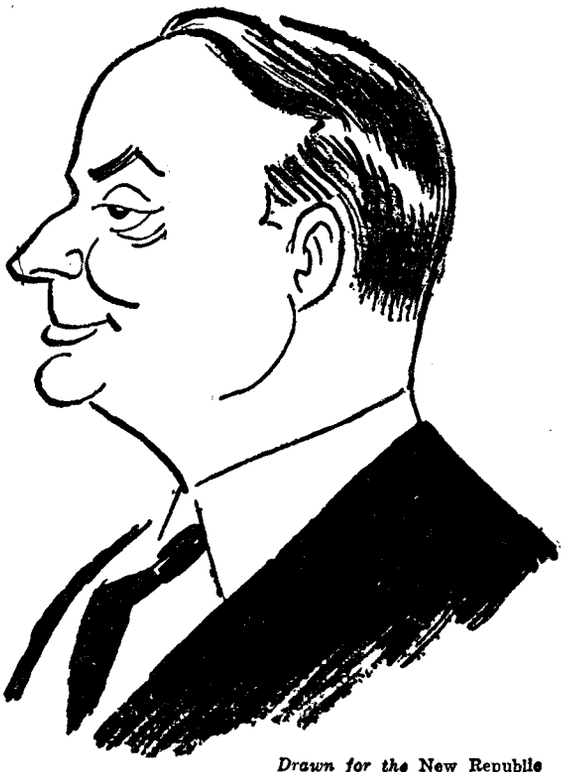
Starting from scratch, the Trusteeship Committee, headed by Dr. Roberto E. MacEachen of Uruguay, will deal with the problem of subject peoples. It will have as a basis for discussion trusteeship agreements between France and two of her territories (the French Cameroons and French Togoland). These agreements may set the pattern for handling the entire trusteeship question, including the long-overdue establishment of a Trusteeship Council.

With Syria's Faris Al Khoury as chairman, the Committee on Administration will deal with the UN budget. It will also serve as guinea pig for experiments in simultaneous interpretation, an earphone system which translates proceedings into several languages.

Last of the permanent committees is the Legal Committee, headed by Dr. Roberto Jimenez of Panama. This committee will deal with rules of procedure and the transfer of assets from the League of Nations to the UN.

In addition, there is the Permanent Headquarters Committee of the General Assembly, which must decide where the UN's permanent home will be. There will be, in addition, two *ad-hoc* committees, one on contributions and another an advisory committee on administrative and budgetary questions.

These issues, of course, are only a sample of those facing the General Assembly. It is expected that the first half of the Assembly session will be spent in plenary meetings and General Committee meetings at Flushing, while the latter half will be devoted to the tough, meticulous committee work necessary before final decisions can be taken by the entire Assembly.



*Drawn for the* New Republic *by Derso and Kelen*

Georges Bidault

Here again, however, the UN has been faced with an organizational problem. Many of the smaller nations cannot send a staff large enough to be represented on all six committees at once. Instead they have sent an expert economist who can handle social affairs as well, a top-notch lawyer who is also an administrative expert. For this reason committee meetings have been staggered so that, although each will convene 15 or 20 times, committees I and IV will never meet simultaneously, nor will committees II and III, nor V and VI.

Thus organizationally equipped to handle the work begun at last winter's session in London, and items introduced since that time, the General Assembly of the United Nations had eliminated one obstacle before it convened. Significantly, the big five powers are attaching enough importance to the meeting to send men of diplomatic stature. The Soviet Union will have a delegation headed by Molotov and backed by Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Vice Foreign Minister; Fedor Gusev, Deputy Foreign Minister; Andrei A. Gromyko, USSR Security Council representative; and Nicolai V. Novikov, Ambassador to the United States. The British delegation, temporarily headed by Ai Minister Philip Noel-Baker, has Hector McNeil, new Minister of State, and Sir Alexander Cadogan, United Kingdom delegate to the United Nations. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, the head of the delegation, will arrive later. China is sending Wellington Koo; France will have Georges Bidault; and the United States delegation, although led by former Senator Warren Austin, will probably be represented from time to time by Secretary of State Byrnes.

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# Trusteeship and Colonies

*by Ralph J. Bunche*

THREE of the nineteen chapters of the Charter of the United Nations—XI, XII and XIII—are devoted to those hundreds of millions of people who, in the words of that charter, "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government." These chapters afford concrete evidence of the importance attached to the problem of modern colonialism by the statesmen at San Francisco who were the architects of the Charter.

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER

The representatives of the peace-loving states gathered at San Francisco in the midst of the war for the purpose of drafting a charter for an international-security organization which would maintain international peace by restraining wars and by progressively eliminating their causes. There was a clear realization among them that the colonial territories—because of their material resources, their potentialities as markets, their manpower, their strategic location and their very defenselessness—are an important factor to be reckoned with in building the peace.

*Ralph J. Bunche is Director of the Division of Trusteeship of the United Nations.*

The motivation behind these three chapters of the Charter, therefore, was more than sheer humanitarianism. There was certainly earnest concern for the well-being and advancement of native peoples, as well as a recognition of both national and international responsibilities toward this end. But there was also a keen awareness that the economic, moral and security interests of the world at large are involved in the solution to the colonial problem. As a result, these three chapters establish the important principle that the political, economic and social welfare and development of all of the non-self-governing peoples throughout the world is henceforth to be a matter for international as well as national concern. The provisions in these chapters promise no revolutionary changes, but the principles enunciated, the mechanisms set up and the obligations solemnly incurred afford these peoples a sound basis for future hope and progress.

## THE TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

Two of the three chapters—XII and XIII—are devoted to the international trusteeship system, which is to supersede the mandate system of the recently dissolved League of Nations (a system devised for the specific purpose of disposing of the territories detached from Germany and Turkey at the end of World War I). The mandate system was predicated on the commendable principle that weak and defenseless peoples and their territories should not be bartered and distributed as spoils among the victors in war. The mandate system, for the first time, also introduced a new principle of formal and direct international responsibility for the advancement of the inhabitants of the mandated territories. Their interest was established as the paramount administrative consideration. While the principles underlying this system were praiseworthy, the system in operation had unquestioned weaknesses and in its approximately twenty years of operation never fully lived up to its original promise.

The trusteeship system envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations is a completely new system of international responsibility. The categories of territories potentially eligible for trusteeship status as set forth in the Charter embrace all non-self-governing territories. In a practical sense, however, the ones most readily available for trusteeship status are present mandates and those territories to be detached from Italy and Japan as a result of World War II. There is no reason to suspect that metropolitan governments will take undue advantage of the permissive provision of the Charter whereby their colonies may be voluntarily placed under trustee-

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ship. Nor is it at all certain that some of the more advanced colonies, whose nationalist leaders have their sights trained on early independence or something only slightly less, would relish trusteeship status.

The international authority to be exercised under the trusteeship system is somewhat more substantial than that enjoyed by the mandate system. The Trusteeship Council, acting under the authority of the General Assembly and composed of representatives of states administering trust territories and states having no such responsibilities—in equal number—is to be the directly responsible organ of the United Nations in the functioning of the trusteeship system. It should be emphasized that in the Trusteeship Council—in contrast to the Permanent Mandates Commission—states will hold membership and delegates will be official representatives of governments.

### How the System Works

The authorities administering trust territories are obligated to submit to the United Nations annual reports on conditions in the territories, the reports to be based on a questionnaire formulated by the Trusteeship Council. Petitions, either written or oral, concerning any trust territory and from any source, may be received and examined by the United Nations. Moreover, the United Nations may undertake periodic visits to each trust territory for the purpose of checking conditions. Under the provisions of the Charter, the administering authority in a particular trust territory may be one or more states, or the United Nations itself. The trusteeship agreement may provide for the automatic termination of trusteeship status after a fixed term, though it remains to be seen whether any agreement will do so.

Trust territories can be created only by means of trusteeship agreements, which must be formulated by one or more of the "states directly concerned" in a particular territory and submitted to the General Assembly (or the Security Council in the case of strategic areas) for approval. This procedure involves a somewhat tedious process of diplomatic negotiation among interested states—states as to whose identity the Charter affords no clue—and thus far accounts in large measure for the delay in activating both system and council.

It follows that this meeting of the General Assembly is of crucial significance to the prospective establishment of the Trusteeship Council and system. If a sufficient number of trusteeship agreements are submitted and approved, the council will be set up immediately. Otherwise there will be an inevitable delay of another year, until the second session of the General Assembly in 1947.

As of October 15, only two trusteeship agreements have been transmitted to the United Nations—by the French government for their African mandates of Togoland and the Cameroons. It is known, however, that at least six other draft agreements have been formulated and are in process of negotiation, and some or all of these may come before the General Assembly in the course of its current meeting.

Jan Christian Smuts

The prospects for the submission of agreements in sufficient numbers to get the trusteeship system under way at an early date may, then, be described as reasonably good. The nature and effectiveness of that system will no doubt be considerably influenced by the substance of the agreements submitted and the demands which the General Assembly may make with respect to that substance before granting its approval. It is fruitless to speculate on what demands the Assembly may see fit to make, though one of its major preoccupations will undoubtedly be to ensure that the agreements are entirely consistent with the trusteeship provisions of the Charter and allow the functions and powers set forth therein to be freely exercised.

### Trusteeship Responsibility

It was recognized at San Francisco that in practice the trusteeship system would not be likely to have early application to very many of the great colonies and possessions of the world. Yet there was a widespread feeling that in the interest of the peace and stability of the world at large there should be at least a limited accountability to the international community for all non-self-governing territories. As a result, Chapter XI of the Charter was conceived.

This chapter is unique in that it applies to all non-self-governing territories—all colonies, territories and possessions—and incorporates a formal commitment on

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the part of the administering states to submit to the United Nations information on the economic, social and educational conditions in the territories under their control.

The United States was the first among the countries having responsibilities for non-self-governing territories to submit to the United Nations the information required by Article 73 (e) of the Charter. It submitted this information in August of this year on behalf of all the territories and possessions which it administers, including Alaska, Hawaii, Guam and eastern Samoa. Subsequently Australia transmitted similar information on Papua. The Secretary-General of the United Nations will present to the General Assembly at its forthcoming meeting a report on this information and any similar transmissions which may be made by other member states before the General Assembly convenes.

If, as may be truthfully stated, never before in history has the international community been so acutely aware of the problem of colonialism, it is equally true that the interests of international peace and political and economic stability imperatively demand this attention. Moreover, the non-self-governing peoples themselves have merited it by virtue of the heroic contributions and sacrifices they have made in behalf of the common victory in World War II. Their future development is now formally underwritten by the United Nations in collaboration with the states responsible for their administration.

# Power: Menace to Peace

## *by Paul Hasluck*

THE FIFTY-ONE MEMBERS of the United Nations are of all shapes and sizes. They differ from one another in extent of territory, population, production and trade, the size of their armed forces, the literacy of their people, standards of living and numerous other measurable matters. They also differ, as individuals differ, in tradition and outlook. Of such is the community of nations.

The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members (Article 2 of the Charter). In applying this principle, the Charter gives to each member one vote in the General Assembly and confides in the General Assembly, which consists of all members of the United Nations, wide powers of discussion and recommendation.

In one respect, however, the Charter makes a clear distinction between great and small nations by creating a group of permanent members of the Security Council and by according special rights to those members. It has often been said that, while there is equality of status within the United Nations (or for that matter in the community of nations generally), there is a difference of function and responsibility. The familiar argument is that, because of the predominant power of certain states, their fellow nations must rely on them for the maintenance of international peace and security, and that, unless these great powers are agreed among themselves, no action to maintain peace and security will succeed.

*Paul Hasluck is counsellor-in-charge of the permanent Australian mission to the United Nations. Since the departure of Dr. Evatt from New York, he has been acting representative of Australia on the Security Council and the Atomic Energy Commission.*

So long as man's conception of an international order is based on the idea of power and so long as man's methods for the maintenance of international peace and security depend ultimately on the application of force, this argument is logical and realistic, although it should be qualified by a recognition that even the great powers are not sufficient to themselves alone but require in some measure the aid of other members.

### THE CHARTER EMPHASIZES POWER

Unfortunately, however, the distinction between the stronger and the weaker has been carried into departments of international relations in which it might be hoped that principles and not power would rule. One example can be found within the Charter itself. The exceptional rights of the five permanent members of the Security Council extend to the peaceful means for the settlement of disputes described in Chapter VI. Negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement—processes which may gain in persuasiveness by the hint of an ultimate sanction but which in themselves depend more on a sense of fair play, sweetness of temper and a reasonable mind than on strength—can in practice only be applied with the unanimous consent of the Big Five.

Furthermore, Chapter XVIII requires the same unanimity before any amendment of the Charter is possible, whether or not the amendments concern those chapters dealing with security or those dealing with economic, social, cultural and humanitarian questions. Yet amendment of the Charter calls for a special kind of constitutional wisdom and farsightedness, and any amendment of the Charter which is intended as a reformative and progressive change—or anything more than a mechanical correction of mechanical faults in

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the organization—must surely move hopefully toward confidence in something other than power as the basis of international relationships. But in Chapter XVIII power is entrenched to protect itself from change.

It is not that strong nations cannot be just, sweet-tempered, reasonable, wise and farsighted (although, possibly, like the rich man trying to earn his way into the Kingdom of Heaven, they may sometimes find their many possessions an encumbrance to virtue). But these merits are common to all nations. Neither the weak nor the strong has a monopoly of virtue or wisdom. In the application of justice or the exercise of reason, the distinction lies, not between the strong and the weak, but between the just and unjust, the reasonable and the unreasonable, the wise and the foolish. The Charter, however, tends to keep the emphasis on power, and some, if not all, of the "five" seem to feel that the privileges of power can be guarded against the nibblings of reason.

### Big-Power Privileges

More unfortunate even than those provisions of the Charter which grant a special position to the great powers in regard to pacific settlement and the amendment of the Charter is the way in which the distinction between great and small has been allowed to spread throughout the United Nations. The Charter provides for a category of permanent members of the Security Council to exercise defined rights and responsibilities, but does not recognize any special group of sponsors or superior members to act in any other capacity apart from the main body of members. Examples of a contrary tendency can be found in the fact that in the first General Assembly the great powers claimed and obtained five of the seven places as vice-president and thus five seats in the General Committee, which manages the Assembly's agenda. The great powers appear also to claim permanent seats on the Economic and Social Council, although the Charter says nothing on the subject, and they also appear to anticipate automatic appointment to all councils and commissions.

The Big Five appear on every one of the eight commissions recently appointed by the Economic and Social Council to deal with such diverse subjects as the status of women, demographic questions and world statistical problems. Similarly, they all, except the United States, sought appointment to the Headquarters Commission to make studies, mainly of a technical character, for the selection of a site within a defined area in the United States. In this and in other ways the division within the United Nations is being unnecessarily extended. An arrangement which was made for the performance of one function is being followed in the performance of all other functions.

Before the San Francisco Conference met, the Australian Foreign Minister, the Right Honorable H. V.

Herbert Evatt

Evatt, in a speech in the Australian Parliament on September 8, 1944, said:

> The overwhelming preponderance of the world's armed strength now lies in the hands of three powers—Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. The military power of each one of these powers is so great that any security system which did not have the full backing of all three would have little chance of success. Equally, it is doubtful whether, if any one of these three were minded to commit an act of aggression, it could be checked by anything less than another world conflict, which it is the primary purpose of any security organization to avoid.
>
> It follows, first, that it is basic to the success of any world organization that each of the three great powers must be ready to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and a means must be found for composing amicably any differences among the Big Three; and, second, that the three great powers must act unitedly against aggression or threats to peace on the part of any other nation. While this may sound like what is called "power politics," it is only bare common sense, having regard to the experience gained in the working of the League of Nations. . . .
>
> There is another side to the problem. The community of nations consists of small and near-great powers as well as the Big Three or the Big Four. The second part of the problem of world organization is to ensure that these leading powers will pay due regard to the old but still cherished doctrine of equality of states. They should allow fair representation to smaller powers on any world organization, and so gain their confidence and support. No sovereign state, however small, will wish to think that its destiny has been handed over to another power, however

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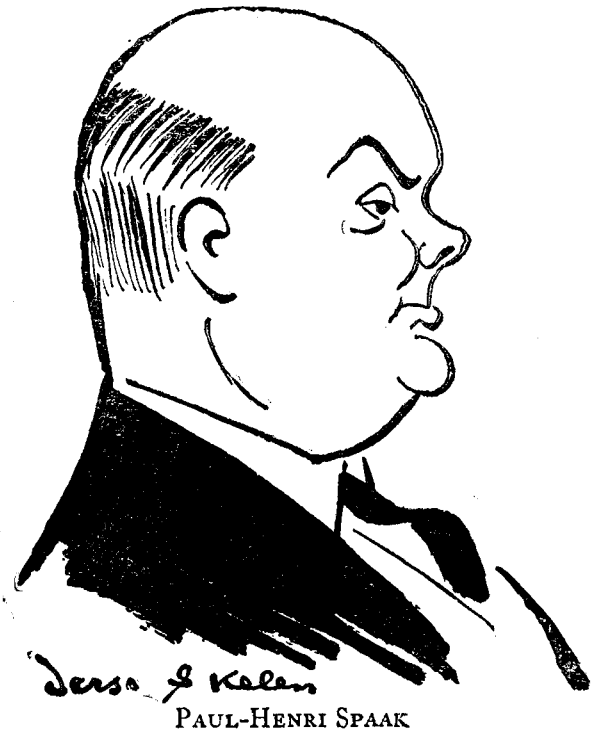

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK

great. Nor does history at all support the view that wisdom is confined to the strongest nations or that knowledge is found only at the center of power. Therefore, a successful world organization requires an enthusiastic contribution from smaller powers both in counsel and in material support. It must be remembered that a so-called small power may in certain areas and in special circumstances possess great, if not decisive, influence.

Dr. Evatt's application of this policy at San Francisco and since has earned him such phrases as "champion of the small nations." But he himself has disavowed any wish to hold such a title and has emphasized that he has been working partly to ensure that the small powers shall have an opportunity to make their due contribution to the work of the United Nations but chiefly for the recognition of certain principles, particularly that considerations other than the possession of power shall enter into the decisions of the United Nations. He has consciously set principles against power but has never sought to set small against great.

In review it will be seen that the constant protest of the smaller powers has been, in effect, against the extension into all fields of international relations of a predominant authority based solely on power. Are the processes of peaceful settlement, the standards of international conduct, social welfare, human rights, economic advancement or the development of law to be shaped only by the strong when their chief benefit will be for the protection of the weak? By the Charter all members accept the principle of sovereign equality and common obligations. Are we then to say that the possession of strength is to be recognized as the major qualification for exerting influence, directing affairs or making decisions within the United Nations?

The opposition between great and small is unnecessary but it is more or less inevitable because the concept of power is basic in the United Nations at present. Any progress to a different order will require some surrender of power. For the work of the United Nations to move forward, its members will be called upon perpetually to yield part of their sovereignty, and the meaning of their equal sovereign status is that all must yield in the same degree. But it may be hard for the strong to do so. The challenge to them requires great liberality of mind, great confidence in one another, a great hope for a changed world, a great faith in something other than their own strength. The best example can be found in the present dilemma regarding the control of atomic energy, in respect of which there is not the least doubt that the smaller nations would, under suitable conditions, readily surrender accustomed national rights in order to achieve international control. But the strong find that way hard.

The path has become obscured somewhat by the growth of yet another thicket. The theory of the working of the Security Council rests on the unanimity of the five and in the expectation that they will act for the benefit of all peoples. Unfortunately, instead of laying their combined strength at the service of the United Nations, they are conducting their own contests of power within that body. Some contests of power and some differences of political interest might have been expected, but it was not thought that they would grow in the way that they have grown in all corners of the organization. If the United Nations is to progress toward greater economic and social coöperation, greater respect for international law and wider use of conciliatory and judicial processes, and if it is to aim at establishing the conditions of peace as well as checking threats to peace, it will have to rely on principle and not on power. Yet at the present time, internal contests of power are endangering its life.

### THE GOAL: SOVEREIGN EQUALITY

It is not a sufficient answer to say that this is part of the realities of international politics. The United Nations Charter surely is intended gradually to overcome and remove whatever elements in the present "realities of world politics" are dangerous to peace and human welfare.

Recognizing as a political fact that power protects itself, the wisdom of the smaller nations is against the forming of camps within the United Nations, but their endeavor at all times must be to see that the principles of the Charter prevail. All signatories of the Charter are, collectively and individually, under a solemn obligation to act in accordance with these principles in pursuit of the purposes of the Charter (Article 2), and part of the meaning of sovereign equality is that this obligation lies with equal weight on great and small.

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# *These Are the Facts About:*

# Where the UN Stands Today

IT IS ALMOST a year and a half since the delegates to the San Francisco Conference signed the charter which created the United Nations. The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat and the various facets of the Economic and Social Council have discussed political, economic and social questions at sessions in Europe, at Hunter College and now at Lake Success, Long Island. The fifth major organ of the United Nations—the Trusteeship Council—is still nothing more than an article in the Charter. The United Nations today is faced with a multitude of problems. Solution of these problems will do much to indicate the future strength of the UN.

### WHAT HAS THE SECURITY COUNCIL BEEN DOING?

Last January the Security Council discussed the removal of Soviet troops from Iran, the presence of British troops in Greece and the opposition of Britain and the Netherlands to the Indonesian nationalists. In February it discussed the presence of French and British troops in Syria and Lebanon. In April it discussed the existence and activities of the Franco regime in Spain. This fall at Lake Success it recommended that Sweden, Afghanistan and Iceland be admitted to the United Nations but that applications from Portugal, Eire, Transjordan, Outer Mongolia and Albania be rejected. It also discussed incidents on the Greek-Albanian border as a threat to world peace, and refused to place on the agenda a Soviet proposal to investigate the numbers of foreign troops in countries other than ex-enemy nations. The Spanish and Iranian questions can be reopened at any time; the others have been closed. The Spanish issue was revived in connection with the status of non-member nations in the International Court of Justice, and Spain was admitted.

### HOW IMPORTANT IS THE VETO?

The veto has been used in Security Council discussions ten times—nine by the Soviet Union and once by France and the Soviet Union together. In every discussion there has, of course, been the possibility of a veto by one or another of the permanent members. However, in the case of the United States, Britain, China and to a lesser degree France, use of the veto has been unnecessary because theirs has been a position sustained by a majority of the Council members. But the Soviet Union has often found itself in the minority, and its point of view could prevail only by use of the veto. Thus Russia vetoed an American resolution calling for negotiations to withdraw British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon. It invoked the veto four times—with France concurring on the question whether a resolution was procedural, as the majority maintained, or substantive—in an effort to force a diplomatic break with Franco Spain. The USSR vetoed membership applications from Portugal, Eire and Transjordan. It also vetoed the establishment of a subcommittee to investigate trouble on the Greek-Albanian border.

### WILL THE UN CONTROL THE ATOM?

The Atomic Energy Commission of the Security Council is trying to find a compromise plan for controlling the atom. The United States, to date, has supported international inspection of atom plants and elimination of the veto in dealing with the atom. Russia has suggested instead a multilateral pact outlawing military use of the atom, together with destruction of existing armaments and an international convention to determine penalties. Mexico and Australia have been the leading supporters of some compromise between the two plans and have been working on such a compromise in the Commission's political committee. Their work may be accelerated by a report, issued on September 27, with the unanimous approval of the Commission's scientific and technical committee. The report specifically avoids political implications in its analysis of the production of nuclear fuel. But it admits that control of the atom is "technologically feasible."

### WHAT ABOUT A WORLD POLICE FORCE?

The Military Staff Committee, composed of military experts from the five big powers, was established under the Security Council last February to work on basic principles for a world police force. By April 3 it had received proposals and questions from France, China, Britain and the United States. On September 18, Russia submitted her proposals and questions. Contents of the reports have not been released. However, with all five plans available for study, the committee has begun its discussion of a world police force. The silence and inertia apparent in its earlier meetings have been replaced by silence and activity.

### WHAT PROBLEMS FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY?

The Assembly convened on October 23 at Flushing with an agenda of 34 regular and 19 supplementary items. Of these the Australian-sponsored, Cuban-backed resolution to review the Security Council's method of voting is likely to stir up the most trouble. The resolution, calling for a review of the whole veto question, goes first to the Assembly's political committee, of which the Ukraine's Dmitri Z. Manuilsky is chairman. There may be trouble, too, over the replacement of outgoing members of the Security Council. Mexico, Egypt and the Netherlands—the outgoing members—have voted with the Western powers generally and Russia is expected to urge new members who would be more sympathetic to her views. The same discussion may arise over the election of six

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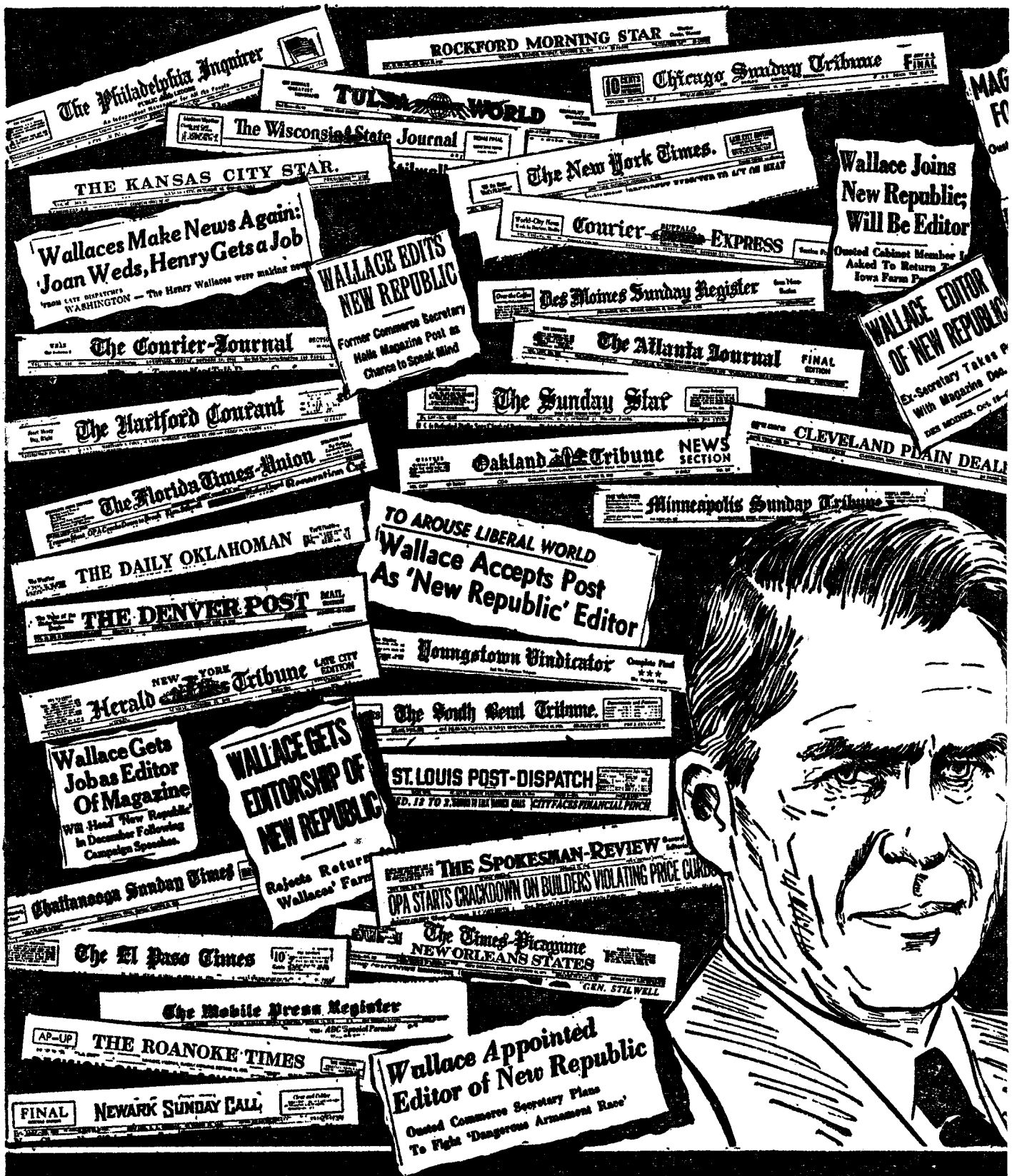
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ROCKFORD MORNING STAR
Chicago Sunday Tribune
TULSA WORLD
The Wisconsin State Journal
THE KANSAS CITY STAR
The New York Times.
Wallace Joins New Republic; Will Be Editor
Wallaces Make News Again: Joan Weds, Henry Gets a Job
WALLACE EDITS NEW REPUBLIC
Former Commerce Secretary Halts Magazine Post as Chance to Speak Mind
Courier-Express
Des Moines Sunday Register
The Courier-Journal
The Atlanta Journal
WALLACE EDITOR OF NEW REPUBLIC
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*Editor of the* NEW REPUBLIC

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new members to the Economic and Social Council, although outgoing delegates, unlike those on the Security Council, are eligible for reëlection. The Assembly may also have trouble with the Indian-sponsored item dealing with the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa. Discussion of this item may stir up the whole question of minority status, subject peoples and the UN's authority in domestic disputes.

### What of the Economic and Social Council?

The 18 delegates to the Council convened at Lake Success in September to decide what to do with refugees, how to rebuild Europe's economy, what to do about navigation on the Danube and what to do about a series of minor issues. On refugees the discussion finally produced a plan for an International Refugee Organization which the General Assembly must now discuss and approve. On devastated areas, the Council discussed, without reaching a final decision, a report calling for integration of Europe's economy. At its closing sessions, the Council approved an American resolution calling for a November conference in Vienna on free navigation on the Danube. Russia told the Council that the interested states would have no part of the conference. The Council defeated resolutions from Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia recommending that the US release barges held by the occupation authorities on the upper Danube. Relations were established with the Provisional Civil Aviation Organization and consultative status was given to the International Chamber of Commerce. Russia opposed both decisions on the grounds that fascist Spain is a member of the two bodies.

### What Are the Specialized Agencies?

The specialized agencies have been established quasi-independently to deal with specific international problems. They include the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO); the International Labor Organization (ILO); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Monetary Fund; International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which is still a provisional body; World Health Organization (WHO), now in an interim stage. The International Refugee Organization, when it is set up, will become the ninth specialized agency of the United Nations. These organizations are affiliated with the United Nations by special agreement. They come loosely under the jurisdiction of the Economic and Social Council as far as work, hiring standards, exchange of personnel and use of facilities are concerned.

### What About Self-Rule for Subject Peoples?

Since the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations has not yet been established, the UN has no power over the administration of non-self-governing territories (those generally considered to be part of a colonial system) or trust territories (those held in international trust, such as by League mandate). Even if and when the Council comes into existence, it will have no jurisdiction over subject peoples except by specific agreement with the controlling power. As things now stand, France alone has submitted trusteeship agreements to the UN. However, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand—the former mandatory powers—are working toward other agreements. The Secretary-General's request for information on non-self-governing territories has been answered only by the United States and Australia. Prospects for an immediate General Assembly decision on the Council and its activities are generally considered slim.

### What Does the Secretariat Do?

The permanent Secretariat of the United Nations works under the direction of Secretary-General Trygve Lie, who was appointed by the General Assembly. It is composed of 657 professionals—linguists, lawyers, writers and technical experts in social, educational, scientific and cultural fields. It has more than 1,100 stenographers, guards, chauffeurs and maintenance men. The United States has contributed more employees than any other country, but geographical representation at the professional level is wide enough to include 32 different nationalities in one department. The Secretariat is assigned to work on Security Council affairs, economic affairs, social affairs, trusteeship, public information, legal affairs, conferences and administrative services. It does research, prepares reports and, in general, does as much as possible to further the diversified work of the United Nations.

### When Will the UN Get Its Permanent Home?

For the next three, and possibly the next five, years, the United Nations will meet at Lake Success, Long Island. By 1951 at the latest, it should be able to move to a permanent home near New York City. The Site Committee of the Headquarters Commission has selected five possible sites in Westchester: a two-square-mile and a five-square-mile area overlapping each other in and near Harrison; a ten-square-mile area covering parts of Yorktown and Cortlandt; a twenty-square-mile and a forty-square-mile area covering parts of Yorktown and Somers. A General Assembly committee will consider these sites and New York City officials are urging Flushing as another alternative. The General Assembly itself will make the final choice.

### How Long Will the UN Last?

Sheer momentum could keep the United Nations going almost indefinitely—as an organization. But hard work, compromise and active public interest are needed to make it the number-one guardian of the peace. To date its accomplishments have been discouraging. Some political questions have not been solved satisfactorily; it has no police force, no program for control of the atom; it has done nothing about trusteeship; its progress in the fields of social and economic welfare has been painfully slow. But the UN has moved forward—however little and however slowly. For the first time in history people have watched statesmen openly debate problems which concern the world. The United Nations, with all its defects, is still a living hope. The people of the world necessarily look to it to save them from a recurrence of the scourge of war.

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# What Democracy Means in Russia

*by Harold J. Laski*

THE DEBATE on the presence or absence of democracy in Russia is, in one sense, no more than an unreal discussion about terms. We in the West emphasize certain things we regard as desirable, and call them democracy; the Russians emphasize other things to which, also, they give the name of democracy. Since what we look for as democracy in Russia is no more there than what we find Russia looking for in Britain and the United States, it is not very surprising that an angry recrimination is characteristic of both sides. The fact is that we are usually arguing from wholly different premises.

Russia is a one-party state. No one can seek to set up another political party without being guilty of what is, in effect, treason. That does not mean that there is not plenty of discussion and plenty of criticism—the newspapers are full of both—but all the discussion is set in a framework whose ultimate contours are set by the Communist Party. The members hold all the vital posts in the community. They define all the vital directives. No one outside their trusted leaders can call those directives into question. No circumstances exist at present in which the party could be legally displaced from its dominant position in Russia.

You may be elected to the Supreme Soviet, and to either chamber of the Supreme Soviet, without being a Communist. But the Communists have not only a permanent majority there; they dominate its Presidium; they hold all the ministerial portfolios; and the Council of Ministers is, in fact, for all serious purposes an instrument of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party. It is in that body that the vital power of the Russian government resides; and it is worth noting that Generalissimo Stalin can be overruled by it. He must persuade its members to accept his view; he cannot, like the American President, obtain the consent of his colleagues as the alternative to their resignation or dismissal.

Quite obviously, this is a strange system to the Western world. And its strangeness is complicated still farther by the absence of what we regard as certain elementary civil rights. There is no assurance of a writ of habeas corpus. There is no right of free publication or free assembly. There is profound suspicion of anyone who is in touch with the world outside Russia, or even strangers within it, by personal contact. Though religious freedom has grown a good deal in the last dozen years, the clergy would not venture to play the political role, directly or indirectly, that the Roman Catholic Church plays in the West.

There are debates, even proposals, in the Supreme Soviet and all lesser bodies; but no one who reads the debates will think of them as involving the right of opposition in the Anglo-American sense. A one-party state, in fact, means that for all vital purposes, the party is the state; and it follows quite logically from this equation that to attempt to oust the party in office from power is to seek the overthrow of the state.

### FREEDOM WITHIN A MARXIST FRAMEWORK

The strangeness to us must not hide from us certain important things. It does not seem strange to most Russians. This is partly because most of them have known no other system; partly because it seems to them curious beyond words to give electors the right to alter fundamental principles of governance about which they are all more or less agreed. The Anglo-American system seems to them a method of slowing down desirable change. It puts off the day when a communist society can become a reality. It is a means of giving the men and women of the past a means of wrecking the future. Once they have agreed, they argue, on the central aims, the business of political democracy then becomes concerned with issues of degree and not of kind.

The Western emphasis on a two or more party system comes from uncertainty of aim and the unequal distribution of economic power between classes. All it does is to enable the privileged to postpone its surrender. It may even enable them, as recent history has shown, to use the forms of democracy for the overthrow of its substance.

The Russian citizen, they argue, has plenty of means of self-expression. The party opens its membership to him if he shows himself fit for membership; and then, in a full way, a career is open to the talented; in the collective farm or factory, he has the fullest opportunity of helping, within the framework of Marxist ideas, to shape the rules under which he lives. He can criticize, even recall, those whom he has elected as his leaders. He can voice his complaints in the newspaper of his factory or village or town or region. His suggestions will be considered. If they are neglected, he can get attention. He has endless opportunities for self-improvement; he is aware that self-improvement leads

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*Harold J. Laski, the distinguished political scientist and Laborite, recently visited Russia as head of a British Labor Party good-will mission. During his stay in Moscow, he was received by Premier Stalin and other Soviet notables.* *His article is copyright, 1946, by the Overseas News Agency, Inc.*

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to a better job. He has practically no fear of unemployment. He has social services at his disposal and his trade union continually tries to improve them.

If he spoke the whole of his mind, I think he would limit his criticism to three things. He would be in favor of far more rigorous limitations on the immense powers of the secret police. He would like a far more free press than he possesses, and this is true, also, of the other means of communication. It is not unimportant that *British Ally*, the paper published by the British government in Moscow, has at least ten readers for every copy its editors are allowed to print, and that numbers containing special features—a full report of the atomic bomb, for instance, or a full account of a speech by Bevin at the Security Council—will sell for many times their published values and will be read until they are almost literally in fragments. And finally, I think, he would like to travel freely; he has a hunger to know foreign countries at first hand.

In our sense, he has not political democracy; he cannot change the government except by revolution. I do not think he wants to change it. I think he is generally convinced: first, that the Revolution was necessary; second, that acceptance of the Western way would have broken the Revolution; and third, that victory in the war against Hitler was a vindication of the value of the system under which he lives.

A Russian citizen with knowledge of the West will agree that his system was the outcome of special conditions which are not necessarily relevant to Britain or America. He will insist that the day of capitalism is over. He will argue that there is no hope for the well-being of the masses except in socialism. But he will accept without difficulty the view that socialism may possibly come in the West without violence and through constitutional means.

I do not think he has any illusion about the wisdom or the necessity of communism as an article forcibly to be exported. That is, in my view, the tenet of a past period. It does not mean that he will not give aid and comfort to Communists abroad, especially where their territory is strategically relevant to Russia itself. He has a kind of quasi-Monroe Doctrine here as real and living to him as the Monroe Doctrine is to the United States in the Western Hemisphere. But he will not go to war for communism abroad unless he sees in its defeat a direct threat to the interests of Russia.

To this he will add, with pungency, that the Western exponents of "classical" democracy ought sometimes to bear in mind that its institutions have application only in "classical" conditions. I suspect he has an inclination to smile at the easy confidence of Great Britain and the United States in "free" elections, say, in Poland. But fantastic confusion and substance look better in a diplomatic note than they do when you discuss the issue in Warsaw.

# Black-Market Butcher

## *by Potomacus*

THIS IS THE STORY of Herman, a fellow with whom I went to school, who made his small, black, economic mark as a butcher. It is not the story of the entire meat industry or of all butchers. It is the story of a butcher who had 50 sides of meat hanging in his refrigerator the night that Mr. Truman sadly surrendered meat controls. It is the meat business, seen through Herman's greedy eyes. . . .

A few days ago I walked into Herman's butcher shop to find him behind his counter carefully filing his fingernails. Except for a few scrawny chickens, the counter trays were empty.

A woman approached. Herman looked up. He said, "Fryers, $1 a pound. That's all I got, lady."

The woman shook her head and slowly walked away.

"Where are all the chickens, Herman?" I asked.

"UNRRA bought 'em all up and is sending them to Europe," he answered, putting down the nail file.

"Nuts," I snorted.

Herman smiled. "Gotten wised up since you went to work in New York, haven't you?"

There was a short silence while I remembered when Herman had quit school to go to work in his father's butcher shop, and all his friends had advised him against it. Now Herman, with a wife and two kids, a house of his own and money in the bank, seemed to have done all right for himself. Back in 1942, when I had left town, Herman was barely getting along.

"It was tough at first," Herman told me. "You had to use your thumb on the scale plenty to make a living then. If it hadn't been for Joey Stern, most of us butchers would have been forced out of business.

"Joey was our best friend. Before he came in, anybody with a couple of hundred bucks could open a butcher shop anywhere and drive an oldtimer out of business by cutting prices. Don't you remember how there used to be a meat market in almost every other store? When Joey took over and set up the AMDPA —the Area Meat Dealers' Protective Association—he

*Potomacus is an office pseudonym, used in this case by the author of "The Thousand-Dollar Necktie," a story that has been widely reprinted since appearing in the* New Republic *for March 25.*

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promised us that if we kicked in he would see there wouldn't be more than two meat markets to a block."

I murmured something about free enterprise.

### The Squeeze Play

"The war made us butchers—just like it did almost every other businessman. It's the old story: you've got a little bit of something people want real bad. They've got the money and are willing to pay a price. You make a little mistake on purpose to one customer; she don't mind, so you try it on another. Pretty soon you're doing it to everybody. Then you go to an AMDPA meeting—yeah, we still keep it going like a trade association—and find out that they're all doing what comes nacherly."

"Everybody is in it?" I asked.

"Sure," replied Herman. "I don't know of a butcher in the AMDPA who isn't. Listen, where you guys on the outside are wrong is that you think the black market is a syndicate of gangsters or midnight cowboys who run around in the dark stealing and cutting up cattle and then selling them for millions of dollars to little butchers who can't help themselves. Nuts! How do you think I got started in it in a big way?"

"How?" I asked.

"One day after the war broke out and meat was beginning to get scarce I went to my packer to get some beef and pork. When I placed my order the clerk said, 'How about some eggs—about 30 dozen maybe?' I told him I didn't need any eggs that day and he told me, 'Sorry, but we don't have no meat.' I pointed to the beeves on hooks and he said, 'We've got plenty of eggs but no meat.' So I said, 'OK, I'll take the eggs, too.'

"The next time I went for meat I had to take two cases of beef extract that I needed like I need a hole in my head.

"Sometimes the wholesaler or packer pads his bill. You order so much beef, let's say, and when your order comes your bill says beef and also pig's feet and brains and tripe you never ordered. If you kick, the company tells you, sorry, they can't drop the order unless you take it all.

"When I go to the AMDPA meetings the other butchers tell me they have the same troubles. Why, it got to be such a regular business that one packer we know was caught by the government with an item on his books that read 'Income from sales over ceilings.'

"You hear the packers scream plenty about the thousands of black-market slaughterers who have come into the game since the OPA took over. A lot of little guys went into it when they saw the big profits. The big packers hate their competition like poison. They would like to see the new little guys caught while they go free.

"All we did when the tie-in sales got heavy was to overcharge more and more. We made out fine."

"Didn't any of your customers protest or report you to the OPA?" I asked.

"So what?" he replied. "Some of us were reported and got clipped with fines. But we figured out how to handle the squealers. You remember Mrs. Orlock? She came in one day asking for meat. I told her I had some nice lamb chops. She said she would take four, please. I asked her to show me how thick she wanted them. I cut them off and then told her the price.

"'Wait a minute,' she said, 'you're charging me for lamb chops—60 cents a pound—when the meat is stamped "cull mutton," and that's only 35 cents a pound. Charge me for mutton or I'll report you to the OPA.'

"'OK, lady,' I said, 'here's your meat at the mutton price.' Then I told the boys at the AMDPA about her and we all froze her out. Whenever she'd come in I'd tell her I had nothing to sell. Nobody in the neighborhood would sell her any meat."

"How did you do when the OPA went out of business last summer for two months and the meat markets were glutted with meat?" I asked.

Herman snorted. "Honest, Tom, when I hear you say things like that I wonder if you didn't leave your brains back in New York. What markets were 'glutted' with meat? That's what it says in the papers and I see where even President Truman talks about a 'glut' of meat. Sure there was a heavy run of cattle and hogs to the yards, but hamburger was 45 cents a pound, round steak 60 cents, beef roast $1.25 a pound and so on. All the meat you wanted—if you had the price. When there's a real glut of anything, the price always goes down."

"I guess you're right, Herman," I said. "Tell me, honestly, how you feel about the OPA?"

### Those Government Regulations

"Just between us girls," said Herman, "we all made out pretty well under the OPA. How could you lose with meat so short all the time? Of course the points and the ceiling prices gave us a little trouble."

"What about the complicated regulations?" I asked.

Herman snickered. "Whenever the OPA would put out a regulation saying that the price of something was rolled back we butchers just couldn't understand it. To us it was complicated; we needed a lawyer to understand it, we claimed. But when the OPA raised the price of something—no matter if it was a penny—we could catch on fast. We didn't need no lawyers. We understood it like lightning."

"Just one more question, Herman. If the President lifts all meat controls tomorrow night, do you think we will get a lot of meat?"

Herman laid his hand on my arm and led me to his big locker. "Look," he said, opening the door. There hung at least 50 sides of beef, and other meat as well. "Waiting," said Herman.

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# Political Trend or Landslide?

*by Louis Bean*

THE TESTS of public opinion that have now become available indicate that the Democrats have to contend with much more than a normal off-year trend in the November 5 elections.

On the basis of past experience our statistical analyses suggested that the country as a whole would normally cast about 43 million votes for congressmen in 1946, compared with 53 million if a presidential candidate were also running. Judging from the New York City registrations, the Republican and Democratic organizations will need to interest at least six to eight million more voters this year to bring the total up to normal, and the Democrats will need to ring most of the doorbells if a Democratic Congress is to be elected.

Even with a normal turnout and with no unusual domestic or international issues adversely affecting the Democratic vote, it appeared likely some weeks back that the Democratic margin in the House might be reduced by about 20 seats—not quite enough to prevent a Democratic majority in the Eightieth Congress. The polls so far released by Dr. Gallup's organization show that if the election had been held around the first of October, Democratic losses would have been much greater, and possibly sufficient to give the Republicans nearly as large a margin as the Democrats had in the Seventy-ninth Congress.

The evidence with regard to this year's possible vote consists of the New York City registration of 2,700,000 compared with 2,100,000 in 1942. Much has been made of this 28-percent increase, but our examination of the record leads us to the opposite conclusion, namely, that the registration was actually below normal. The year 1942 is commonly taken for comparison with 1946 because it was the latest congressional and gubernatorial election year without a presidential candidate. Practically no attention has been paid to the fact that the 1942 turnout, in registration and in the final voting, was far below normal.

The New York City and New York State populations represent such large samples of the national population that New York registration in both presidential and congressional years has reflected fairly accurately the national interest in voting. On the basis of past experience, the national vote should this year be about 13 to 14 times the New York City registration, or about 6.1 times the New York State registration. This would mean a total national vote of only 34 to 37 million, or six to eight million below normal for 1946.

If six to eight million voters fail to participate, in addition to the normal off-year shrinkage in voting interest, the Democratic share of the popular vote could fall below that of 1942, when it was 47.5-percent Democratic. This would give the Republicans control of the House. The Democrats must have a popular vote of not less than 47.5 percent to retain control of the House—as evidenced by the following tabulation:

| Year | *Democratic percentage of congressional votes* | *Number of Democratic congressmen elected* |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 43 | 164 |
| 1930 | 46 | 214 |
| 1942 | 48 | 222 |
| 1938 | 51 | 262 |
| 1944 | 52 | 243 |
| 1940 | 53 | 267 |
| 1932 | 57 | 313 |
| 1934 | 57 | 322 |
| 1936 | 58 | 333 |
| Minimum required | | 218 |

The Gallup polls for the first part of October tend to corroborate this conclusion implied by the evidence of a subnormal turnout. They show, in the first place, that Democratic strength picked up after the 1944 elections, but even as late as last spring it had not declined below the position held by the Democrats in the 1944 elections, when they cast 54 percent and 52 percent of the two-party vote for President and for congressmen respectively. The Democratic decline in recent months has lowered the Democratic percentage to 47 percent in a presidential campaign and to 43 percent in a congressional campaign.

It is the results obtained by this 43-percent Democratic figure in the congressional elections that interest us this year. Even if we add a couple of points to compensate for possible error, the poll would still indicate that only 45 percent of the popular vote would have been cast by Democrats had the congressional elections been held around the first of October, and this would have given the Republicans as much of a margin (25 seats) as the Democrats had in the last Congress.

The Democrats' task during the last three weeks of this campaign is no longer to prevent a shrinkage in their marginal congressional seats but to make sure that 1946 does not mark the end of the New Deal political tide.

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*Louis Bean, an economist with the Bureau of Budget, is the author of* Ballot Behavior, *a study of presidential elections. He is a frequent contributor to the* New Republic.

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# Radio: Only a Three-Cent Stamp

A FEW WEEKS AGO Don Hollenbeck, well known radio news commentator, sat before the microphone at WJZ in New York. It was exactly seven a.m. One minute before, at 6:59, the station broadcast the Marlin razor-blade commercial, a boy-and-girl one-minute singing spot. The girl sang: "He can hold his cheek close to mine." Boy: "And I do." Girl: "Hold me tight, steal a kiss any time." Boy: "Wouldn't you?" Girl: "In fact I'm his most willing slave." Both together: "The man with the Marlin shave."

Hollenbeck, sitting there holding his script, suddenly boiled over. He wasn't sponsored by Marlin, and when he was given the "on-the-air" signal he made a point of telling his listeners flatly and bitterly that the atrocity they had just heard had no connection with his program. At eleven o'clock the same morning Hollenbeck was out of a job.

The newspapers and the listeners got hold of it and backed his courage and his rights. Although it was only a local broadcast, letters began to stream into the station; Hollenbeck himself received 256. Three weeks later, Don Hollenbeck returned to the air—sponsored by the Marlin Razor Blade Company.

The point is that radio and the advertisers who depend upon radio to sell their products are extremely sensitive to criticism and praise as reflected by letters from the listeners. It is a notorious fact in the industry that intelligent listeners—those at the *New Republic* level—rarely bother to write, while letters from Ma Perkins and Frank Sinatra fans are received by the bushel. The ABC broadcasts of John Hersey's "Hiroshima," over a national hookup, received only about 300 letters; CBS received 396 letters after its excellent "Operation Crossroads" broadcast and the Philharmonic averages around 92 letters a week.

Radio does worthwhile programs now because it feels that it is a public duty. Letters from the more highly educated members of its audience would make radio offer better programs because the public demands them.

Station WNEW in New York has a problem which can only be solved by the lawyers of the FCC. Rule 315 of the FCC law states that in the event that time is sold or given for political broadcasts, each *candidate* is entitled to receive or to purchase equal time. In New York James M. Mead is backed by the Democratic, ALP and Liberal Parties, Governor Dewey only by the Republicans. The Republicans objected that the way time was being apportioned, Mead would be represented three times as much as Dewey. Republicans invoked the FCC ruling. Now the three parties backing Mead each receive one-third of the time given the Republicans. This situation seriously challenges the opportunity of a third party to get time for the promotion and publicity of its party platform if it finds it politically expedient to throw its support to one of the major parties. Should a political party stand on its platform or its legal rights? Radio has become a big election soapbox; the rights of a third party in this case should be defined.

TED COTT

# Maya Deren's Films

THE SILENT FILMS created by Maya Deren, a young Greenwich Village purist who has the ambition, belief in her own genius, love for esthetic verbalizing, ginger and push of a whole colony of artists, have had numerous screenings at colleges and before art groups in New York, and are scheduled for showings on October 28 and 29 at the Provincetown Playhouse in the Village. Her movies, which she once called "Abandoned Films" and now calls "Films in the Classicist Tradition," are Freudian-toned, lesbianish, freezing, arty, eclectic, conventional and safe. Utilizing real environments and people, they show people who look mesmerized or often ghostly moving through situations that have been contrived to have some Freudian meaning. You are always conscious of a mechanical-mindedness because of the pretense and self-consciousness of the acting, the labored arrangement of objects and people, and Miss Deren's fascination for trick effects with acting, composing and camera. The bleakness of these brief films comes out in the hard, stolid treatment of subject matter. Whether she is filming a perfect stretch of Long Island beach or a mugging esthete, her touch is totally lacking in sensuousness, humor and love, and she seems to petrify the subject until it takes on the character of a museum piece. The lack of sparkle is largely due to a dead eye for photography—she has no feeling for light and dark and is as unable to spot a cliché as a Tin Pan Alley hack.

The program of films at the Provincetown includes "Meshes in the Afternoon," which takes place on a lazy California day in a stucco bungalow and deals with the dreams and objective actions of a stubby girl (Miss Deren) in black slacks, who ends up dead, covered with seaweed, blood and broken glass from the upstairs window. This film, cluttered with corny, amateurishly arranged symbols and mainly concerned with sex, hops too confusingly from reality to dream. The others are "At Land," "A Study in Choreography for Camera" (a lyrical three-minute dance film which might have been a knockout with a more talented masculine dancer), and "Ritual in Transfigured Time."

"At Land," which is fairly typical of the substance of her movies, starts at a lonely postcard-pretty beach where the waves operate in reverse and leave in their receding wash a dead girl in a sarong (Miss Deren)—all of which may be meant to symbolize a birth fantasy. After the inevitable shot of gliding sea gulls, the girl wakens, climbs a miraculously suspended column of beachwood with a South Sea islander's skill and on her face a look of innocence and expectancy, as if she were seeing the world for the first time. Her climbing takes her up to the edge of a long, narrow table in a dismal banquet room (Miss Deren's photography always goes sour on night scenes, where everything becomes too dark and too cold). The girl surveys the

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banquet table esthetes like a corny Indian, and then starts crawling turtlewise down the stark-white covered table. When she reaches the host, who is working on a chess game, the people leave coldly, suddenly, looking as if they hadn't eaten; the queen falls off the chess board and she follows it down a precipitous slope. There is more to this movie along a similar vein.

This opening stretch of "At Land," shot at Amagansett, Long Island, and at the Great Northern Hotel in New York, gives an indication of how trite and funereal these movies are. The first scene of a clear day at the beach, of breakers washing over a corpse, is such a cliché you feel that you're seeing it for the hundredth time, and when the girl stares up the stand of beechwood you are reminded of arty beach photographs and annoyed by the pansyish composing and lighting. Miss Deren's movements seem unnecessarily mannered and stiff. Her performance in general reminds you of tough leather. With thousands of people from the Fifty-seventh Street art world simulating gayety at a banquet table and Miss Deren crawling the length of the table as though she were paying off an election bet, it is hard to believe that there is not one exciting detail in the whole episode. Instead, there is a seedy, dreary air about the affair because of the barren hall, the bleak lighting and the fact that the guests seem so uncomfortable and unhappy.

MANNY FARBER

# Revivals

*Lady Windermere's Fan, by Oscar Wilde. Cort Theatre, October 14, 1946.*
*The Duchess of Malfi, by John Webster, adapted by W. H. Auden. Ethel Barrymore Theatre, October 15, 1946.*

THE TWO of Oscar Wilde's dramatic works that come roundly off are "The Importance of Being Earnest" and "Salome." "The Importance of Being Earnest" is a high-class farce built out of Wilde's sense of entertainment and the innate vigor of his wits. "Salome" is fairly and frankly true to the central decadence—if you want to call it that—of his real nature, and through this it achieves a notable completeness. "Lady Windermere's Fan" is at its very center trivial or negligible because of a muddled theme: a woman who ran off from her husband, has had a past, has been blackmailing her daughter's husband, suddenly saves her daughter from a fatally compromising situation by taking the scandal on herself. The point is sprung then that while one character after another thinks her a bad egg, the daughter, without ever knowing it is her mother, says she is a good woman—curtain.

We may, if we like, blame the period in which the play was written for the evasion of any sizing up of the point and for the cheap surprise, supposedly, of this end line. (Anybody knows a woman may be a rotter and yet be capable of a self-sacrificing or maternal act. And besides, the lady explains matters away and does not, after all, lose the rich gull she has snared into marrying her.)

This central hole in the play cheapens its quality and drops it into a plane that it might have avoided. The fact remains, just the same, that "Lady Windermere's Fan" is an expert piece of stage writing. Despite old and worn cliché after cliché, it moves along and keeps the interest. The performance of it makes an engaging evening of theatre. The actors all do their parts most capably, especially Cornelia Otis Skinner, Henry Daniell and Estelle Winwood; and Cecil Beaton's décor, abundant and charming, the clothes and the places, is something of a drama in itself. The most important and the most interesting thing about the occasion is the directing or the handling of the old piece as a whole. It is all taken bona-fide, as if nobody recognized it for its obvious tricks, as if its morality were not most obviously nothing but pure stage hooey. Even that scene in Lord Darlington's rooms, with all the often quoted epigrams and the false larding on of them, is done quite simply and straight, as if this were the way the given characters would talk things out at that moment. It is an interesting feat, not so rowdy as theatre fun but in much better taste and much more basically witty than the usual Wilde production. The gain thereby, not to the single lines but to the whole play, is a lesson to our stage.

To this even and tasteful distribution of effect the chief contribution was made by Penelope Ward as Lady Windermere. The rightness of her particular type of beauty for the part and the seeming innocence of her approach to it combined to make one of the loveliest performances I have seen in a long time. She created what, though not a proof, was at least an evidence of the truth of a character that Oscar Wilde probably created with his tongue in his cheek. We very rarely see that sort of thing happen in the theatre.

The reader may, or may not, have seen the remark (1664) of a French traveler, Samuel de Sorbière, about the Englisn and their drama. "They don't care that it may be only a pot-pourri, because they look, they say, only at one part of it after another without concerning themselves about the whole" *(san se soucier du total)*. This applied to Shakespeare is the best key we could find to the French view of him as barbarous. And it lands squarely on the chief defect and limitation of Webster's famous play of "The Duchess of Malfi," produced four years, perhaps, and certainly two, before Shakespeare's death. "The Duchess of Malfi" lacks practically all organization; it defeats any attempt to see it as a whole. It runs away in every direction that a richly poetic Elizabethan mind chooses to take. In the fifth act, after the heroine's murder is over and done with, it messes itself up beyond all redemption. To see projected on the stage a play about which so many scholars, critics and poets have written so variously and variably these many years was a genuine privilege.

The version used for this occasion is the play as adapted by W. H. Auden, the poet. It is very often an adaptation indeed, not to mention the very liberal cutting. It transposes scenes and events from this or that act to another, changes about seventy-five percent of the fifth act, writes an entirely new ending that is anything but what Webster had in mind, and introduces what amounts to an innovation in the shape of a Freudian motive for Ferdinand's violent reaction to his sister's love affair. This motive may or may not have been in Webster's conscious or subconscious intention; it remains suspended so far as the lines of the play go; but the fact remains that in "The Fair Maid of the Inn" there is the motive of the brother's infatuation and jealousy with regard to the sister, and on this play Webster collaborated with Ford and Massinger. The very end of the play we see at the Ethel Barrymore is sheer

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Auden or what you will, with its current clichés about the violence of rulers, the solvent of love, et cetera. In neither of these innovations is the writing convincing as Elizabethan. But at that I should say that this adaptation has a great talent behind it and has for our present purposes greatly improved the sprawling, excessive Elizabethan drama—*se soucier du total.*

Even in this new form the play did not, I was interested to see, come off as living theatre. Its best efforts were the famous purple patches that scholars have hit the public over the head with and poets have swooned over. (The death of the duchess, the cough-syrup speech and the mine-eyes-dazzle speech are the most celebrated of them all.) Such passages, doubtless, came off rather furiously in their epoch, with actors acting them to the hilt for audiences who any day might see disemboweled corpses or some headless putrescence hanging at the cross-streets, or gory wax images of the dead borne along to torches and music. But George Rylands, the director, imported from London, where he directed the successful run of this drama last season, has left many elements in it very mild for our consumption. I am pretty certain now that the drama of "The Duchess of Malfi" is the drama, often high in import and power, that belongs, for us at least, to the printed page rather than to the stage of a theatre.

Miss Bergner brings a kind of fey gallantry, Berlin-trained, to the effort, but is not suited to the part. In the first place her accent, if nothing else, blocks her approach to the central quality of the Duchess, which is a rhythmic loveliness and a persuasion of lyric passion. Canada Lee, made up in white-face, shall we say, has an admirable energy and sincerity, sustained throughout, for the role of Bosola, who is here the villain of the play. But he has not mastered the diction that can serve fully the purposes of such English verse, nor has he the secure stage projection that is needed for the style required. Whitfield Connor as the Antonio of the Duchess's love and tragedy was better than we might hope for. John Carradine as the Cardinal brother played with distinction and intensity of style.

The scenes by Harry Bennett, and the costumes by Miles White, are far above the average. STARK YOUNG

# The Bandwagon

The further provisions that the United Nations zone [in the United States] is to make its own laws and regulations offers a potential happy hunting ground for dope-running and black marketeers. – *David Sentner in the Los Angeles* Examiner, *a Hearst paper.*

Several other people living in the town had mentioned that vote-buying is an accepted practice in Prestonburg [Kentucky]. On election days, they said, miners and their families came down out of the hills ready to sell one vote or the vote of the entire family at a dollar a vote. Asked about this, Mayor Arnold replied: "That's a damn lie. Things have changed in the last few years. The price is now as high as five dollars a vote." – *From the Chicago* Sun.

Acknowledging great progress on the part of Negroes, Mr. [Eugene] Talmadge nevertheless insisted "the Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots." He asserted this was proved in the recent Democratic primary, when, "despite the fact that there were four candidates for the office of Governor, one candidate received 99 percent of the Negro vote." – *From the Atlanta* Journal.

### With Their Mothers' Milk

Does it ever occur to the advocates of universal health insurance, we wonder, that opposition to compulsory medicine is every bit as instinctive in the human breast as the desire for food? People are born with it. We have seen it vehemently demonstrated in persons not yet two years old. – *From the New York* Times *Magazine.*

### Try the Greeks

*Wartime Mission to Spain*, by former United States Ambassador Carlton J. H. Hayes, was published in Spanish here [Madrid] today. Under terms of the contract, final proofs were passed by Dr. Hayes with the understanding that there would be no censorship. According to the printer, the only departure from the original was the omission, with the author's consent, of the word "gangster" in describing the Falange, because no equivalent Spanish word could be found. – *From the New York* Times.

*Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the* New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

# Correspondence

## Welcome to Wallace

[By Telegram]

I have always admired Henry Wallace for the upright, just, far-seeing and understanding attitude he took in all his political activities. I think that also as editor of the *New Republic* he will be a powerful and beneficial influence in the forming of public opinion, especially in the international sphere. With my best wishes.

*Princeton, N. J.* ALBERT EINSTEIN

The *New Republic* is rendering a distinct service to progressives and the progressive movement in the United States by providing Henry Wallace with a free platform for the expression of his thinking. He has won a right to be heard by his unselfish devotion to the public service and millions have learned to count on him for honest and courageous leadership. I sincerely hope that this union so happily consummated will bear fruit in ever widening influence for both your invaluable paper and your distinguished new editor.

*New York City.* FRANK KINGDON

I wish to congratulate the *New Republic* and its readers upon the acquisition of the exceptional abilities of Henry Wallace. His vision, intelligence and high purpose, combined with his sympathies for the common man and devotion to our country and to the cause of peace, supplement the great force for good and liberal thought which the *New Republic* has come to mean to all liberals and progressives. I am very happy to see him occupy this influential position directed to the molding of public opinion in these critical times.

*Washington, D. C.* JOSEPH E. DAVIES

Henry Wallace's assumption of the editorship of the *New Republic* gives hope that he will persuade more and more people to feel, as he so obviously does, that a peace with justice

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and humanity rather than power alone as its basis, is no longer just something to desire, but something for which to work.
*Greens Farms, Conn.* JOHN HERSEY

Your choice of an editor shows an understanding of a world in the making. His acceptance ensures that one dependable and enlightened American voice will be heard constantly throughout the land. Ultimately it will be generally recognized that Henry Wallace's sympathies are as strongly for the necessities of the free-enterprise system as they are for the lowly citizens who are holding on by their eyelids. A truly dynamic democracy must be founded on educated, cultural, fearless, imaginative and spiritual-minded leaders. Such a one is Henry Wallace. Good luck to the new team.
*Philadelphia, Pa.* MORRIS L. COOKE

I gladly take this opportunity of expressing to Henry Wallace my delight at seeing him assume a position where he can freely express his humanitarian views and give the country the benefit of his real knowledge of domestic affairs. Best luck to him.
*Washington, D. C.* EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

I am thrilled with the news that Henry Wallace is to become editor of the *New Republic*. It is one of the most hopeful happenings in the present critical world situation. It is clear that liberal forces of America must have an effective program and rallying center to make their voice effective if we are to stop the drift—even the drive in some quarters—toward war and destruction. The *New Republic*, with its great liberal tradition, is a peculiarly appropriate medium and Henry Wallace is the clearly indicated leader for a revitalized, aggressive, realistic American liberalism. Count on my backing, as I am sure you can on that of a multitude of our people who are looking for a way to push an effective world program of cooperative peace and social justice.
*Bronxille, N. Y.* SAMUEL GUY INMAN

Heartiest congratulations to both Henry Wallace and the *New Republic*. Liberals and progressives all over this country and abroad look to you for leadership in these confused and confusing times. We may differ with you on tactics and details, but we are united with you in support of your objectives. May your voice be firm and carry far.
*New York City* EVANS CLARK

Henry Wallace, symbol of progressive thought, as editor of the *New Republic* can fire the American people with his courage and wisdom, his practical idealism and his faith in humanity. Under his leadership the *New Republic* can lead the people to freedom from the shackles of preconception born of the indoctrination of the press, the radio and the party, and from the pressures of local environment. The onrush of reaction must be met by steadfast enlightenment and by achievements of intellectual freedom. Henry Wallace has found a post where all can draw strength from his ideas and direction from his leadership.
*New York City* DR. ERNEST P. BOAS

The *New Republic* is to be congratulated for offering Henry Wallace a platform from which he can so effectively lead his fight for peace. You have already been blessed by his acceptance. I feel certain that under his editorship your magazine will fulfill to its utmost abilities the responsibility which it has assumed to educate and stimulate to action those American progressives who look to Mr. Wallace as their leading spokesman.
*New York City* JO DAVIDSON

Mr. Wallace and the *New Republic* are to be congratulated on his assuming the editorship. It is good news for all progressives that Mr. Wallace will be able to express his views in so influential a journal as the *New Republic*. The American people are indeed fortunate that Mr. Wallace's voice and leadership will thus continue to be made available to the progressive cause.
*New York City* THOMAS K. FINLETTER

[By Mail]

SIR: You deserve a "bravo" for acquiring Henry Wallace. Aside from the effect and influence on people's thinking it is a journalistic scoop of first magnitude. It came as one of those surprises that jar you a little, which I think is the signal that you are on the threshold of real opportunity. . . .
*New York City* J. STAMM

SIR: Please permit me to congratulate you on your keen wisdom in making Henry Wallace the editor of your magazine. The circulation of the *New Republic* will henceforth be increased by leaps and bounds. I promise you 25 new subscriptions.
*Los Angeles, Calif.* ISAAC KUSHNER

SIR: Congratulations on securing Henry A. Wallace as editor of the *New Republic*. The knowledge that Mr. Wallace will be able to continue his fight for a just and lasting peace in the pages of such a great liberal publication as yours is something we may all be thankful for. . . .
*Bayport, N. Y.* GEORGE R. STRYKER

SIR: Congratulations on your wisdom in appointing Henry Wallace and my deep admiration to him for joining you. It is a most significant move for the *New Republic* and for the country, and I am delighted.
*New York City* GERALD WENDT

SIR: It was a great idea to get Wallace and it ought to have great consequences. I congratulate you.
*New York City* JOHN ROTHSCHILD

SIR: Congratulations on acquiring our beloved Henry Wallace as editor. . . . By complete and careful coverage such as the *New Republic* shows in its news and commentary, better citizens and more intelligent voting in elections may result. You are rendering the nation a great service. With our good friend Wallace in addition to what you have, the *New Republic* rates 200 percent with me. Good luck, the very best of luck.
*Sheffield, Ala.* J. GUY DANIELS

SIR: The announcement has just come over the radio that you have acquired Mr. Wallace as editor. Congratulations! As a reader of your publication for 25 years, I am delighted.
*Chicago, Ill.* ALICE L. BAKER

SIR: In selecting Henry Wallace, the *New Republic* has made another ten-strike. Wallace has also.
*Columbus, O.* C. H. BRYSON

SIR December 16 cannot come soon enough for us; we are tremendously pleased to know that Henry Wallace will be heard through the *New Republic*.
*New York City* JEAN AND NYE PHARR

SIR: I have just read that Henry Wallace is to become editor of the *New Republic*. As a subscriber to the magazine, I am writing to express my congratulations on this appointment. It will indeed be stimulating in the coming months to have a "modern Jeremiah" guide our thinking.
*Pittsburgh, Pa.* DOROTHY C. GUINN

SIR: Certainly I must congratulate the *New Republic* on having Mr. Henry Wallace as its new editor. . . . Mr. Wallace is exceedingly popular in Canada and all are looking forward to his editorship of your journal. . . .
*Ottawa, Canada* E. M. HOBEN

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# Books in Review

## Truth and Consequences

AFTER World War I the most influential book was John Maynard Keynes's *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. This volume[1] is an answer to it by a member of the younger generation to which Keynes's argument was addressed. Lord Keynes recently died in an effort to surmount the economic consequences of World War II. Étienne Mantoux was killed in the last months of the war itself. Though both of the controversialists are dead, the matter of their controversy is far from a dead issue, since it concerns the treatment of Germany, which now looms as the sticking point of the new peace.

Keynes's brilliant and engaging book has, ever since its publication in 1919, determined the attitude of liberals throughout the world. To most of them subsequent events seem to have confirmed its thesis. The treaties which ended the first war, whatever their political justification, constituted a poor economic basis for a just and lasting peace. At Versailles the Allies attempted to place an impossibly heavy burden on the young German republic. They deprived it of much of its wealth and of its ability to export enough to acquire the necessary imports. At the same time they demanded reparations payments calculated to absorb any surplus which Germany might produce, payments which would in any case be impossible to transfer because of Germany's incapacity to develop an excess of exports over imports. The partition of Central Europe into small national states on the principle of self-determination heightened the economic barriers across a continental economy which must operate as an integrated whole if it is to prosper.

The futile attempt to pay reparations induced a German inflation which impoverished the middle class. The inevitable failure to pay them, followed by the occupation of the Ruhr, embittered international relations. These follies, combined with awareness by the Germans of the injustice of their treatment, undermined German democracy and prepared the way for Hitler. The great depression, arising in part from failure to make necessary postwar readjustments, led directly to the supremacy of Nazism. Then the Allies belatedly offered to German dictatorship an appeasement which they should have extended to German democracy.

Mantoux atacks the basic assumptions of this legend at almost every point. He considers the original arguments of Keynes one by one and attempts to confute them. Keynes, he asserts, did gross injustice to both Wilson and Clemenceau and to the peace which they wrote. The Versailles settlement was intrinsically a just and workable one, and the great tragedy was not that it was evil but that the attack on it led by Keynes helped to keep the United States from signing the treaty and joining the League, drove a wedge between Britain and France, gave many Europeans a bad conscience and encouraged German resistance. Mantoux was a nationalist Frenchman and the security of his country was of first importance to him. Nevertheless his reply to Keynes is not a stupidly conservative one. It is almost as brilliant and pointed as *The Economic Consequences* and is thoroughly documented with references to sources and figures which were unknown when the former book was written.

IT WOULD REQUIRE long and expert study to decide between the two men on many of the detailed questions at issue. We may, however, briefly examine one of the central arguments—that which concerns reparations. There seems little doubt that German productiveness and savings recovered much more rapidly and fully than Keynes thought they could or than anyone could have expected if he accepted the Keynes evaluation of the damage done to the German economy by the provisions of the treaty. It is quite possible that a few years after the immediate postwar crisis Germany could have produced enough to meet the reparations payments.

Actual experience does not prove, however, that she could have transferred them, since she never developed an export surplus. The arguments by Mantoux intended to prove that she could have done so if the monetary payments had been made are not convincing to this reviewer. He argues that a net export of funds is the cause of an active trade balance, and not the result, as Keynes assumes. He cites as evidence the exports of capital frequently made in times of peace, and the loans made in both world wars by the United States to Britain and by Britain to other Allies. But surely such loans are conditioned by something more than the will of the lender to make them. I know of no case in which a nation long dependent upon a surplus of imports suddenly converted it into an export surplus by the mere act of lending large amounts abroad. In the case of war loans the active element is not the extension of the credit but the eagerness of the borrower to make the purchases which the credit is to finance. There is no evidence that the victorious Allies were ready to absorb such large amounts of German exports as the payment of reparations would have required. This is particularly true of the United States, which, although it made no direct claim to reparations, played in fact the role of the ultimate recipient because of its attempt to collect the war indebtedness.

After the acceptance of the Dawes plan in 1924, Germany did for a while make the required payments in money. This outflow was never converted into the export surplus which would have made the payments real, because capital flowed from the United States to Germany even faster than reparations were paid out. If these new American investments had never been made, it is possible that German reparations payments might have

[1] The Carthaginian Peace—or The Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes, by Etienne Mantoux. New York: The Oxford University Press. 210 pages. $4.50.

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been realized. It is more probable, however, that the German economy would not have recovered sufficiently to develop the necessary internal surplus. Mantoux recognizes the tremendous stimulus to the growth of German employment and income supplied by American investment during the twenties, but he ignores this point while discussing the transfer problem.

The present book assumes that German success during the recent war in diverting vast amounts of wealth from occupied territories invalidates all old ideas about the difficulty of transfer. But this was an entirely different matter. It was not the result of financial transactions within the normal framework of international trade. If the Allies had continued armed occupation of Germany after 1919 and had directed her entire economy, they could have extracted large amounts of real wealth at the cost of the conquered population. But that was not their aim, nor was it visualized in the Versailles Treaty itself. They expected to restore an independent Germany which would pay as if reparations were a war debt to be transferred through the ordinary mechanisms of international trade and finance.

In the present settlement the problem of transfer through monetary mechanisms has been by-passed by the taking of real goods and machinery for a limited period. The question is how far this process can go without impoverishing the Germans and compromising the future of the European economy. Strangely enough, Mantoux writes in his conclusion as if he would take the same side as Keynes and the British on this question. He is not in favor of destroying German heavy industry, and he recognizes the need for a highly productive European economy.

His emphasis is rather on the importance of national boundaries which will accord with the desires of the people concerned and which will, in this era of nationalized economies, form the basis of a workable balance of power. It is on these political grounds that his argument now needs the most careful scrutiny, although the bulk of his book is devoted to refuting the economic contentions of Keynes. It would be interesting, if he had lived long enough, to have his present recommendations for a peace settlement in Germany and Central Europe.

GEORGE SOULE

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# Thirty-two Lowells

*The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds, by Ferris Greenslet. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 421 pages. $4.*

As an editor and publisher Ferris Greenslet has put in a good part of his life showing reluctant authors how to make their books more readable. He has also written several well made books of his own. As a Boston publisher he has spent many hours arguing with—or more accurately listening to—what various Lowells have had to say on various matters. It is not surprising therefore that *The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds* is skillfully organized, informative, entertaining, discreetly revealing and judicious. Greenslet's primary task was to present at some length the life-stories of 12 Lowells, from Old Percival (1571-1664), who founded the American line by emigrating to New England in 1639, to A. Lawrence, who refused to die until he reached the age of 87 in 1943. Without obstructing the flow of these biographies, brief accounts of 20 other Lowells are woven into the text to provide transition and contrast, and to fortify the author's contention that the Lowell family has not been a procession of individuals but a clan, in the successive generations of which the tendency to "seize your opportunity," to philanthropy and to hypochondria has persisted.

Add to this his intention to delineate, by means of the multifarious activities of the members of the clan, the worlds in which they lived, and you will grasp the size of the task Greenslet set himself. This problem has likewise been well solved, though it was not difficult; he has been able to take down from the shelf just the book he needed to provide materials for a sketch of each world. That he has added little beyond what he could find in the excellent local histories of Newburyport, in Esther Forbes on Revolutionary New England, in Morison on Harvard, in John Coolidge on mill and mansion in the city of Lowell Greenslet would be the first to admit. But he has known how to use the well documented New England record.

In his preface Greenslet announces a further purpose. He has not so much sought to write the success story of a family as to provide a "chronicle play of New England history for three centuries, seen through the family's eyes and dramatized in its actions." His chronicle was bound to be limited by the Lowell vision and imagination. The dominant line of the family has been provincial and conservative, from the Reverend John Lowell, who closed his pulpit to "enthusiastic" preachers at the time of the

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Great Awakening, to A. Lawrence, who, when obliged to choose in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, closed his mind "against any action or consideration tending to show a flaw in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." About as far to the Left as a Lowell in the dominant line ever ventured was to declare for Unitarianism in 1750 and come out for free verse in 1914. Something can be made of the fact that one of the innumerable Johns, the one born in 1769, who tried to keep alive a dying Federalism and anathematized Jefferson and Madison, was known in the family as "John the Rebel."

There were, of course, exceptions—some Lowells who did not bring in new money (by marrying wisely or sitting tight through wars and panics), who did not spend their best nights meeting and dining with the Harvard Corporation. But their adventuring was never done in New England and their occasional indiscretions were committed several thousand miles from Boston. More than he might admit, perhaps, Greenslet loves his subdominant line: his Beau Sabreur, Colonel Charles, who, had he not died gallantly in the Civil War, *might* have been President; "John Junior," who made the Old World yield him pleasures no other Lowell imagined might be found there but who, dying in Egypt, remembered to be a Lowell by endowing the Lowell Institute; Percival, the Orientalist and astronomer, who used geisha girls for models while experimenting with photography in Japan. Because he can see so clearly what even mild apostasy involved for a Lowell, Greenslet has illuminating things to say about James Russell, who tried for a time to elude his fate but became in the end—to his internal distress—a dominant Lowell. Here is a workable key to the enigma of the husband of Maria White.

POSSIBLY because he likes the genuine rebels more or because he grew a little weary of the endless eulogies of departed Lowells read into the minutes of the Somerset Club, Greenslet tells us less than we should like to know about two of those who never wavered in the faith: Francis Cabot Lowell, who died at 42 just as his great work of establishing a model textile city was coming into flower, and Augustus, who died in 1900. The first of these men made possible the Lowell fortune; with the second the family pocketbook reached its most distended proportions. Francis Cabot was one of the greatest entrepreneurs this country has produced, but he gets a scant dozen pages here. And the reader would like to be told by what means Augustus distended the pocketbook. Since he died so recently as 1900, it is possibly indelicate to inquire.

Another tale left untold invites one's curiosity. Greenslet gives us brief glimpses of a few Lowells who did not contribute to the 210 man-years of Lowell service to Harvard or were not even Harvard graduates. Following down one obscure branch, we mix for a moment with Lowells who made barrels for the export trade in salt-fish and rum. Another line immured itself in the lighthouse on Plum Island. Did these other Lowells ever get invited to meetings of the clan at Bromley Vale or Sevenels and what did they think of "The Old Judge" or "The Rebel"? It would be nice to know. Their words and deeds might add some scenes of mirth and clowning to this edifying chronicle play.

WILLARD THORP

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# Down to Earth Philosopher

*Problems of Men, by John Dewey. New York: The Philosophical Library. 424 pages. $5.*

THERE IS no telling how many of us are different because John Dewey has lived and thought and taught among us. His quiet voice has carried around the globe, the Vermont twang of his complex sentences has been deciphered in China. Difficult as has been his mode of expression at times (the tortured effort to be honest in reporting a new vision of experience while having to use all the old words), his central thought is really as simple as is the man himself. Through knowing him, we get the feel and substance of what might otherwise seem a sententious verbalism of Emerson's: "Nothing is more simple than greatness; indeed, to be simple is to be great."

For all the gentleness and generosity of the man, he has been called "the great destroyer," and with some of Milton's stubborn pugnacity, he has always shown a lesser respect for authority than for truth and freedom. But the destruction has never been for its own sake, or for the benefit of establishing his own ego through a display of dialectic skill directed against accepted ideas. It has rather been integral to the process of construction and reconstruction, as parts of the Tennessee Valley were inundated that the region might once again bear fruit. He has helped give character to the face of a generation, and if democracy lives into the future, it will bear the stamp of his mind as much as it now does of Jefferson's.

It is hard to realize that the man who wrote the papers collected in this volume will celebrate his eighty-seventh birthday in October. With the exception of the classic "Logical Conditions of a Scientific Treatment of Morality," all the addresses and articles reproduced here have been prepared since 1935, the majority of them during the past five years, and the important introduction was written especially for this book. If no new ideas are to be found among them, that does not detract from the fact that they are significant developments and clarifications of the ideas with which he has been working for half a century. There is no loss of freshness, and there is an increasing relevance in them, testimony to the profundity with which he has penetrated to some of the central issues of our time.

To use intelligence in solving problems seems so obvious a thing to do as to require no special comment. How does it happen, then, that this greatest of living American philosophers, who will surely occupy an important place in the history of thought, has spent much of his life advocating it and trying to make clear to himself and others what he means by it? And how does it happen that, except for William James, he has seemed more down to earth even in his technical writings than any other modern philosopher?

Part of the answer to both questions may be found in the kind of coöperative effort which produced the atom bomb and the kind of ignorance and political log-rolling which have characterized efforts to deal with it legislatively. It is commonplace to say that socially and politically we are centuries behind the point reached by our natural scientists and technologists. We are. But it does not follow from this, as some conclude, that our natural scientists are therefore the ones who have the answers to our social

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problems. What does follow is that methods analogous to those used in natural science, but by no means necessarily the same, have to be devised and used in relation to the "problems of men."

It is this complex of methods, these techniques of inquiry, that Dewey has in mind when he writes about intelligence. And though it may be obvious that we ought to use intelligence in dealing with our problems, it is by no means so clear what we mean by it. If it were, there would be available for use in the broad field of human affairs counterparts of the methods which have been so eminently successful in the field of physics. To be sure, the existing structure of power might prevent the application of such methods. Dewey has been aware of this for a number of years and insists again in the present volume: "In order to endure under present conditions, liberalism must become radical in the sense that, instead of using social power to ameliorate the evil consequences of the existing system, it shall use social power to change the system." That is our chief political task, but we have to remember that freedom "can be had only as individuals participate in winning it, and this fact, rather than some particular political mechanism, is the essence of democratic liberalism." If the structure of power were changed tomorrow, however, the need for more adequate methods of dealing with our problems would remain.

FOR ALL its human bearing, this latter necessity breaks down into a series of technical and specialized questions. Dewey's primary concern in his technical philosophic work has been with them. In the course of dealing with them, he has never lost sight of their human origin and bearing, any more than did James, even in the midst of the most intricate analysis. That helps account for the fact that he has been so down to earth. James was a far more colorful figure, but his writing was sometimes deceptively simple—deceptive in the sense that the more one reflects on some of his central passages, the more difficult they become. Dewey, on the other hand, with all the dogged perseverance of a New England farmer plowing his boulder-strewn acres, has been deceptively difficult—in the sense that the more one reflects on his central ideas, the simpler and the more cogent they become.

The present collection is representative of his temper of mind in approaching problems in several key areas. He has written far more extensively on questions of education over the years, but never more clearly or incisively. Evidently, the attempted reaction in education which was spearheaded by Education for Freedom, Inc., brought together in his mind all the things for which he had been fighting educationally since the days of the experimental school in Chicago. The fruit of these decades of thought and work is in these papers. In a way, it is unfortunate that the plan of the volume excluded the passage-at-arms with Alexander Meiklejohn in *Fortune* which followed Dewey's article in that magazine, for it is a masterpiece of polemical writing.

The other sections of the book deal with the relation of the scientific habit in mind to the problems confronting us, with technical problems of value and the relation of scientific method to values, and with three thinkers—James Marsh, William James and A. N. Whitehead. They bring


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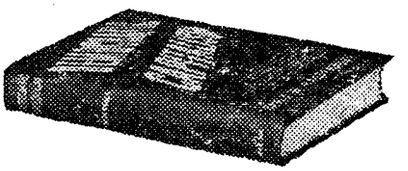

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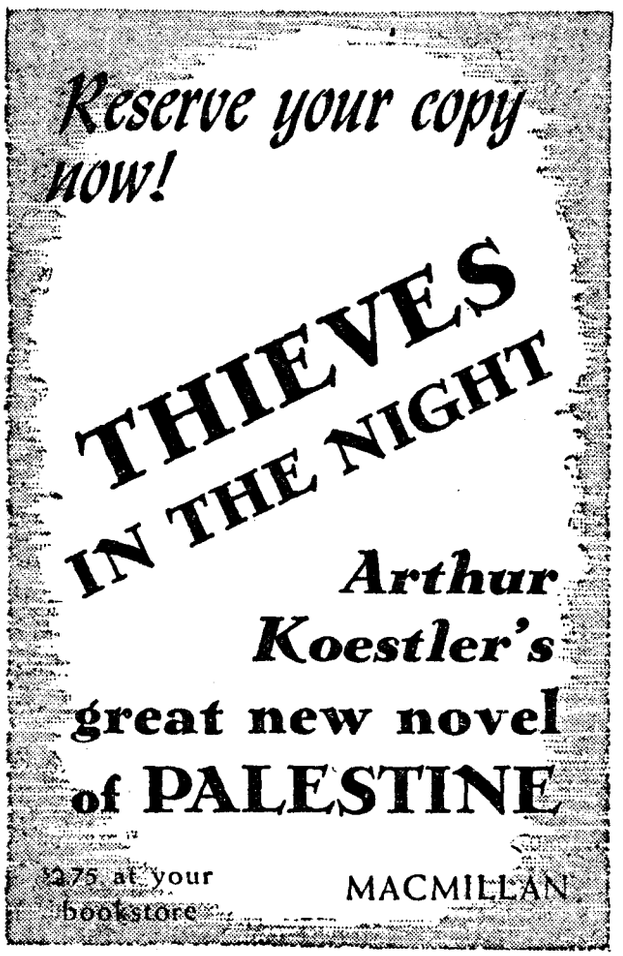
his thinking up to date in these fields. For those not already familiar at first hand with his thought, the collection will no doubt be a helpful introduction. For those who are, it will help to round out the picture of the man and thinker.

In the affectionate and finely written piece on James, Dewey characterizes him, in respect to many-sidedness, as "the most significant intellectual figure the United States has produced." Of himself it might be said that in respect to educating us for the parts we ought to play in a free society, he stands alone. JEROME NATHANSON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Harold J. Laski, back in England after two months in this country, will give his impressions of present-day America in a series of three articles beginning in next week's issue of

THE Nation


# Five-Star Hennessy

*Charles Dickens, by Una Pope-Hennessy. New York: Howell, Soskin, Inc. 488 pages. $4.*

DAME POPE-HENNESSY'S ambition has been to supplant Forster as the official life and she does it with the overwhelming insouciance of Grover Whalen presiding at a World's Fair. She has spent so many conscientious years with her subject, is by now so casually familiar with every friend, lawyer, borrower and relation who ever spent an hour with Dickens, that a reader begins by feeling like a gate-crasher caught without a guest list at a diplomatic banquet.

This is not a critical study. It is the social calendar and legal brief on the daily movements of the deceased from the seventh of February, 1812, to the summer night in 1870 when he dropped from his dinner table at Gads Hill. Her book is henceforth *the* biography. Time was when you could look up Dolby for the lowdown on the American readings, smile over Mamie Dickens' account of a father-daughter relationship that skated perilous oceans, or turn with a sense of solid reassurance to check a date, a contract or a motive in the unflagging and dullish Forster. These are now dated pleasures. The publishers of all previous biographies can tear down the typeface. Dame Pope-Hennessy wrote her book, in fact, because she had come to fear that after Forster's marriage his "account of Dickens flags both in intimacy and accuracy." She is probably the only living mortal who could write that sentence with a straight face. If any publisher is looking for a comprehensive re-write of Gibbon, Dame Pope-Hennessy is his girl.

It is, then, a book for the initiate or for the pure beginner. I suspect that ours is the last generation that will automatically include the works of Dickens in even the school curriculum, and maybe it's as well to have the record set straight once for all.

What comes out of it, for anybody interested in the books of Dickens and the temperament that wrote them, is nothing new, only the massive collection of symptoms from which the reader must make his own diagnosis. Of course, this multitudinousness was the Dickens milieu, and what is most valuable here is the refocusing of him as the archetype of the successful Victorian social animal. He was in motion all the time, tugged in all directions by satellite friends and dependents. And he was at his best in motion, weeping over his own decision to kill off little Nell, walking, reading aloud, dining out, picnicking, whipping up boisterous amateur theatricals, suing or being sued. What in a happy man is serenity was in him a pause, full of omens, between the manias of social charm and productivity. When the daily writing was done, the picnic reduced to crumbs, the guests gone home, he could only be irritable, resent his wife's children (he always thought of them as such) or summon a friend to help him banish swift depression ("I want to escape from myself, my misery is amazing") in a walk that started in London or Rochester and was as likely as not to end in a reassuring postcard to his family from Paris.

This exhaustive populating of Dickens' private world, and the disinterested linking of all its relations, have a surprising value, one that would surprise Dame Pope-Hen-

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nessy, I imagine, as much as the reader. One can reassess his total energy and see where the best and the worst of it went. It throws into high relief what have always been taken to be his worst faults of writing. He was quite willingly hunted by packs of relatives, writers, friends and intending illustrators, and it appears that he came to rest only in the private pool of his own morbid fantasies about the serenity he could never make. Thus his copious sentimentality, his lugubrious sermons on domestic bliss, his almost envious apostrophes to the dead or dying (Carton, Little Nell, Steerforth, Paul Dombey) now appear not so much as puzzling and positive faults but as strong reactions against the impulses that beset him when he was alone, a cry of resistance against the recognition that these were prayers for a life he could never live. If this is true, then the worst of Dickens, the admired "pathos" of his day, is the true pathos that lay between the Victorian separation of private and public life.

It is a minor conclusion and we have still to admit that to know how the grief of a great man works does not tell us why he is great. This is the severe limitation of the analytical study of the lives of men who make literature. It can show the mechanism of energy but can't evaluate it. We still don't know why one man of Dickens' temperament erupts into trash while Dickens himself erupted into *Pickwick*, *Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, *Great Expectations*, and a thousand characters whom we meet every year and call in him "caricature" or "larger than life" only to cover up our own insensibility to the essence of character.

ALISTAIR COOKE

# A Reader's List

*Behind the Iron Curtain, by George Moorad (Fireside Press, $3).* Despite an introduction by William L. White, who predicts that Moorad's book will be condemned, or at least not reviewed, by friends of the Soviet Union, this latest addition to the large number of Russian correspondents' reports is well informed, credible and exceptionally unemotional. That an American reporter should be fed up with the endless and arbitrary obstacles put in the way of free reporting by Russian censorship and foreign-office authorities is understandable. And whatever the reasons for these acts may be, the democratic correspondent's conscience demands that he should report Soviet violations of solemn agreements in Manchuria or Rumania. The many other chapters in the book—on everyday life, the food situation, the housing shortage, industrial problems, etc. —more than suggest that Moorad approached the Soviet Union with an open mind and that he sought a sympathetic understanding of Soviet reality. All his opinions, favorable or unfavorable, are substantially documented. The book is vividly written and makes good reading.

*The Lost War, by Masuo Kato (Knopf, $2.75).* Here is a rapidly moving personal account of the war as seen and felt by a keen Japanese newspaperman of liberal, Westernized political orientation. The author was close to the diplomats who in the months prior to Pearl Harbor sought an American-Japanese rapprochement. He absolves them from intentionally seeking to slow down the negotiations in order to give the Japanese war party enough time to prepare the attack. The breakdown of the discussions, he thinks, was due to disagreement within the Japanese ruling group. The war party won out, Kato gives a plausible account of the course of events that made this outcome inevitable. But the major part is devoted to the political and economic life of wartime Japan, the ineptness of Japanese psychological warfare and the disastrous effects of Allied strategic bombing. There are vivid pictures of Japan's war lords and heart-breaking scenes of civilian life. In retrospect, it seems, Japan's hope of victory was predicated on anticipation of Germany's victory in the West. In terms of Japan's military and industrial potential alone, the war was not even a gamble. But the fanaticism of the army leaders did not permit a loss of face until it was too late. When the atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the success of strategic bombing had made surrender only a matter of time. On reading this excellent book one wonders whether the dropping of the atomic bombs was neces-

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sary or whether it was not the most heinous of all the war's crimes.

### Crime and Punishment

*The Wrong Way Down, by Elizabeth Daly (Rinehart, $2.50).* Henry Gamadge, bookman and amateur sleuth, is drawn into some very unsavory goings-on when he undertakes to investigate a curious theft for old Miss Julia Paxton. Before he even gets warm, Miss Paxton is murdered and Gamadge finds himself pitted against one of his toughest problems. Another of Miss Daly's skillful and exciting jobs, topped off by a typically tricky solution.

*Murder Miscellany.*—Dana Chambers' *The Case of Caroline Animus* (Dial, $2) is a bawdy, lively tale of a cobweb of deviltry whose origins lie in events that happened twenty years before the story begins; in *Fear No More*, by Leslie Edgley (Simon and Schuster, $2), a promising newcomer curdles your blood with a skillful creepster à la *The Lady Vanishes*; and Samuel Rogers (*You Leave Me Cold!*, Harpers, $2) offers up an absorbing if pretty macabre item about criminous doings in a quiet college town. Hercule Poirot returns in fine form in Agatha Christie's *The Hollow* (Dodd, Mead, $2.50), much the best of this author's recent output. Lord and Lady Angkatell and their friends and relations—to say nothing of the widow herself—have so many motives for murdering Dr. John Christow that Poirot has to be very much on his toes to spot the killer.

E. H.

# New Republic News

During the weeks when the idea of Henry Wallace as *NR* editor was still in the discussion stage, six of the editorial staff walked around carrying the weight of one of the most important secrets in the magazine's history. During conferences, and in memoranda and inter-office notes, HAW became "Mr. Smith." The secret was kept so well that Bruce Bliven spent the Saturday afternoon of the Michigan-Army football game telephoning the news to the other members of the staff so they wouldn't be scooped by their own story.

One of our more beautiful feminine staff members was at a cocktail party and couldn't be reached. She had had only one Martini, according to her report. But when the news came over the radio, suddenly she was up with all the rest of the kites.

Another letter came in this week asking us how to break into the magazine business, so we stopped to ask Elizabeth (Lib) Bigler, a slim brunette in a red dress typing away at 60 words a minute in one of the offices on the *NR* floor.

Lib spent a couple of years in the Women's Airforce Service Pilots—WASP, towing flag targets in Martin B-26's down in Texas most of the time. She wears two Caterpillar Club pins for emergency jumps. Both times she was testing parachutes attached to light airplanes, and both times they didn't work.

Her husband is a P-47 pilot she met on a flight to Panama, and she thinks that he and the magazine world are the most exciting things that have ever happened to her.

To the reader who wrote the letter and asked the question, we give the simple answer—"You jump in."

• • •

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# *A Message of Welcome and Fraternity from the American People*

To MR. PAUL HENRI SPAAK, President
The General Assembly of the United Nations

On October 24, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations came into being. On that day the world witnessed a great climacteric in the age-old struggle of mankind to blot the scourge of war from the face of the earth.

Since then things have not been easy. The wreckage of the European continent and of ancient lands in the Far East; the miseries of great populations scattered throughout the world; the inevitable social and economic dislocations consequent upon a great war fought against a ruthless foe; all of this has not made the path easier. Above all, the records of centuries which have raised historic barriers between nations are not easily forgotten nor quickly discarded. It is not surprising that this New World, struggling to be born, has its attendant birthpangs.

But one fact is of transcendent importance and may, in the end, provide substantial compensation for the supreme tragedy of this great world war. Out of all these miseries, the wreckage of storied places and the toll of our best youth, has come the United Nations. Here mankind has plotted a path to universal peace for our own and for succeeding generations. And here, if we follow this path with all the strength and the fidelity given us by God, we shall yet reach the goal.

No one can say that this path is easy nor can anyone say that it will become less difficult as we follow it. But it is the one hope of those of us who live today and it is the one existing chance for generations yet unborn that we and they shall escape the scourge of war. Those things which are divisive unite us the more from their very being. For from them stems the necessity for substantial unity if this world as we know it is to be saved and if humanity is to continue its age-old march to higher levels of life and achievement.

The destiny of mankind lies in the charge of the members of the United Nations. In this immemorial quest for peace we welcome to America the representatives of the Member Nations meeting in the General Assembly of the United Nations. We welcome you as our guests and as our brothers. We speak in the name of millions of Americans who, though lacking the opportunity to join in this affirmation of brotherhood, are in spirit with us. We wish you Godspeed in your labors for peace between men, and unity among nations.

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